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LETTERS ON THE AMERICAN REBELLION.



LETTERS ON THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

LETTERS

ON THE

AMERICAN REBELLION.

BY

SAMUEL A. GODDARD,

BIRMINGHAM.

1860 TO 1865, &c.



LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co.
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"Time blots out the fictions of mere unfounded opinion, but confirms the judgments which are in accordance with truth."

"The most extraordinary events may occur and prove little more than a nine days' wonder; unless they incorporate themselves with some continued movement or permanent institution; unless they enter into and become connected with some established modes of thought."



DEDICATION.

TO MY SISTER,

MRS. SAMUEL MAY,

OF

BOSTON, AMERICA,

WHOSE APPROBATION FROM TIME TO TIME ENCOURAGED ME IN

WRITING THEM,

AND WHOSE UNCOMPROMISING ADVOCACY OF THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,

DURING A PERIOD OF FORTY YEARS,

ENTITLES HER TO THE RESPECT OF ALL FRIENDS TO HUMANITY,

THESE LETTERS

ARE AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE letters which form this volume, were written with the intention of diffusing information on the subject of the American rebellion, thereby indirectly aiding in its suppression, and consequently, in removing from the American Continent, that stain on humanity, the institution of Slavery.

On the breaking out of the war, the people of Great Britain in the aggregate, were profoundly ignorant of the questions at issue, and the rebels, who for a series of years had been preparing, abroad as well as at home, for the crisis, took advantage of it, and through the medium of a portion of the press, inculcated the belief that they had risen against oppression; that it was a struggle for freedom; of right against might. At the same time they declared, that while it was the settled policy of the North to exclude British manufactures, and to impose their own upon the South, the Confederacy had resolved to adopt free trade in its broadest acceptation. Appealing thus both to the feelings and the interests of the people, they succeeded for the time, in carrying, it may be said, the nation with them; care, however, must be taken not to include in this remark, a highly intelligent portion of the community, embracing most of the

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LETTERS ON THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

LETTERS OF APPROVAL FROM EMINENT PERSONS.

*Extract of a letter to S. A. GODDARD, from his Excellency
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, American Minister to the
Court of St. James.*

“You understand the American question as well as any
one in great Britain that I know of.”

Copy of a letter from Mr. BRIGHT.

Rochdale, December 11th, 1866.

MY DEAR MR. GODDARD,

I am glad to hear that you are about to publish your letters and articles on the American War. They will perhaps be too many for one volume, but you can make a selection from them, preserving all the most important.

I told my friends in Birmingham that they had a great advantage over other towns, because they had you as a teacher on the great American question. I think I read all your letters as they appeared, and I believe and say it without flattery, that nothing more exact, on the great struggle was written in England during the War. The facts were correct, your knowledge complete, and your faith in the final issue of the conflict never failed you for an instant.

I have always felt that our population in the centre of England were much indebted to you for your constant teaching during the progress of the rebellion.

It is pleasant to write thus to you now the war is over. I have often felt my faith made stronger after reading what you had written, and now we may rejoice together.

Believe me always, Sincerely Yours,
JOHN BRIGHT.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD, Esq.,
Birmingham.

N.B.—The publication was not proceeded with at the date of this letter owing to unforeseen obstacles; but Mr. BRIGHT has given full permission to use his letter.

Copy of a letter from Mr. ADAMS.

London, 16th December, 1866.

DEAR SIR,

In returning to you the interesting letter from Mr. BRIGHT, I can only add that I do not wonder you should prize it highly as a testimony of your faithfulness. Nobody is a better judge, or more competent witness, than he who fought the great fight so bravely himself.

Very truly Yours,
C. F. ADAMS.

To S. A. GODDARD, Esq.,
Birmingham.

Extract of a letter from the Hon. W. H. SEWARD.

Auburn, New York, May 29, 1869.

MY DEAR MR. GODDARD,

I am very glad that you are going to collect and publish in a volume the letters you wrote during our late civil war. You will please send me a copy.

I am, very sincerely Yours,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

THE following is a copy of a communication received from the New York Chamber of Commerce :—

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

New York, July 7th, 1862.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD, ESQ.,
Birmingham, England.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that at the last regular meeting of this Chamber, 3rd inst., the following resolution, on motion of Mr. Louis S. Fellows, was unanimously adopted :—

RESOLVED—“That the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York do hereby tender their grateful thanks to their esteemed fellow-countryman, Samuel A. Goddard, Esq., of Birmingham, England, for the high patriotic stand taken by him in favour of our glorious American Union, and for his several masterly communications, published in English journals, in vindication of our just and righteous determination to put down the present wicked rebellion.”

I have great pleasure in conveying to you this distinguished and honourable mark of the appreciation of your service to the cause of your country by the merchants of this city (New York). Permit me to add, that at no time in the course of this terrible struggle for the maintenance of law and order, union and government, has it seemed more important that our countrymen and friends in Europe should be watchful and active to maintain public sentiment in the true direction, and defeat the machinations of a cunning and unscrupulous enemy, than now, when a check to the onward progress of our arms inspires him with fresh hopes of foreign succour, without which he will soon fall exhausted by the vigour of his own struggles.

I have the honour to be, respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, jun.,
Secretary.

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LETTERS

ON

THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

MACAULAY ON AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

UNDER the above heading the following communication from the writer of these letters, appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, April, 1860, and although having no reference to the American rebellion, is introduced here because of its significance with respect to events that have occurred since. The result of the American conflict has effectually disposed of the theory entertained by Lord Macaulay and the privileged classes of Great Britain generally, that a government elected by the people at large, by vote by ballot, its strength and vitality depending on the will of the people, could not withstand rude shocks, but would succumb to the first severe trial; and the errors into which so many eminent persons have fallen, in speaking and writing on the American question, can only be accounted for by the proneness of men to act upon preconceived opinions, especially in matters affecting their own inclinations, or interests, and consequently it is seen that opinions so advanced should not be blindly accepted, as is too generally the case with those who derive their inspirations through hereditary deference to position and power, but may justly be subjected to the severest scrutiny, however eminent or learned their authors may be.

From the BIRMINGHAM DAILY POST.

By a Correspondent.

THE opinions of learned men, and of men occupying high positions, have great influence upon the minds of most persons. Even those who have examined into the subjects upon which the opinions are expressed, and have arrived at opposite

conclusions, are too apt to yield, and to adopt views which appear to have the sanction of authority—a liability to be deplored, tending, as it does, to the forfeiture of independence of ~~character~~ and to the establishment of despotism of opinion.

Learning and experience undoubtedly should be respected, but it is to be recollected that man is fallible; that all are liable to err; that instances are numerous of wise men saying foolish things, and also of great truths being enunciated by persons who had acquired no reputation for wisdom or learning. It should also be recollected that few persons, however learned, ever become free from the effects of early impressions and early associations. The mind becomes prejudiced, and a train of thought is established without the correctness of these early impressions being fully examined into, or even perhaps being called in question.

This tendency has been exhibited recently in two very notable instances, viz., in Lord Palmerston's speech on the vote by ballot, and in Lord Macaulay's letter on the character of Jefferson. To those who have studied the question of the ballot, and witnessed its practical working, Lord Palmerston's remarks appear to be beneath criticism; and, subject to the same test, Lord Macaulay's letter appears to have been hasty and ill-considered. Yet the opinions thus advanced by these eminent men are received and will be received by vast numbers of persons as conclusive. Certain ideas had become fixed in Lord Palmerston's mind, which he turned out precisely as a mill turns out its contents, because they were there; and Lord Macaulay also appears to give expression simply to preconceived opinions.

Many of the advocates of the corn laws were undoubtedly sincere in the belief that the free admission of corn into Great Britain would ruin the nation. Even the leader of the Liberal party declared, and not many years since, that "the statesman must be mad who would propose the repeal of the corn laws." These persons, for the most part, acted upon preconceived notions. Thousands of similar instances might be adduced to show this natural propensity, and how

liable men are to defend opinions early imbibed, especially when calculated to sustain their own position, or that of the class or party with which they are identified.

In the letter referred to, Lord Macaulay condemns Mr. Jefferson, because he advocated universal suffrage. Yet Mr. Jefferson never advocated it independently of a due consideration of the state of intelligence of the people; nor would Lord Macaulay *deny* it irrespective of that consideration. Mr. Jefferson would not give it to a nation of barbarians, nor would Lord Macaulay refuse it to a nation of Macaulays. Therefore, they differed only in degree, *and* until that degree had been defined, Lord Macaulay had no right, logically speaking, to declare that Mr. Jefferson's opinions differed in that respect from his own. Mr. Jefferson thought the American people *capable of exercising the franchise*, and no doubt their average intelligence at that period was equal to the average intelligence of the electors of the parliament of Great Britain at the same period. He was not however, satisfied to stop there, but was an enthusiastic advocate of continuous improvement and enlightenment, and at a period when Lord Macaulay's model legislators *were opposed to the education of the people*.

Lord Macaulay thinks that if by possibility universal suffrage can be tolerated in America, where on account of the country being thinly populated labour finds constant employment, and no great cause for discontent exists, it cannot be applicable to a thickly-populated country; because labour there will occasionally be unemployed, and then distress might induce the sufferers, if they had the power, to plunder property, and perhaps bring about anarchy; and consequently, that it is necessary for the privileged and property classes to have the power in their own hands, to enable them at such periods to put down promptly, manifestations of insubordination. Lord Macaulay "had known within his own experience several such periods in England, and had witnessed the necessity of the power being in the hands of the privileged and property classes, who would wield it with a firm hand," and without compunction.

It is surprising that so learned a man as Lord Macaulay should utter such puerilities. It ~~can~~ only be accounted for on the supposition that he was giving utterance to preconceived notions. Neither the philosophy, the humanity, nor the logic of the propositions and deductions can be sustained. The supposition that labour *must necessarily* at times lack employment in thickly-populated countries, is opposed to experience, and to the beneficent provisions of Providence. Between the period of the outbreaks referred to by Lord Macaulay and that of his writing, the people of England had nearly doubled in number, while, at the same time, the introduction of steam power was equivalent to millions of additional hand power; and yet, at the time he wrote, all were fully and prosperously employed. How would he reconcile those facts with his theory? and how thoroughly oblivious to any but preconceived opinions must he have been at the moment, in overlooking them. Experience shows that the action of labour begets a further demand for labour; that supplying human wants begets further wants; that there is no other limit to human wants and the demand for labour than that of the power of satisfying the demand, it being as impossible to "*labour out*" as it is to "*learn out*;" and nothing further is required than to keep the elements of society in harmonious action, in order to ensure universal employment. Lord Macaulay assumes that the distress of which he speaks as having occurred at several periods within his recollection, arose from *the labour market being overstocked*. He ignores the well-known and almost universally-admitted fact that the distress was the result of long and expensive wars, which had wasted the capital of the country, and entailed heavy taxation, surmounted by those monster twin iniquities, the corn laws and the money laws, which made food dear and labour cheap. He overlooks that these were the results of the class legislation which he advocates, and that the want of employment did not arise from any law of nature, nor from any infliction by a beneficent Providence.

Lord Macaulay admits that under the rule of the limited

suffrage which he upholds, periods of great distress had been frequent; and that it ~~had~~ often become necessary to *arm* the property classes against the labouring classes; a condition of society certainly which could hardly be aggravated. But how would it be, in such a case, in a country where universal suffrage prevailed? Would any class or number of people be ever brought into this condition of suffering and insubordination? With equal laws, without monopolies, with no class legislation, property becomes distributed amongst all; and though there are rich and poor, they form no caste, but are all allied, and members of the same family. Therefore, if through the inflictions of Providence, or through erroneous legislation, persons should be brought to want, none in particular would be considered to blame, and none would be complained of; nor would the sufferers have any inclination to raise their hands against property, that being in the possession of their own fathers, brothers, or near relatives, who would be **willing and** desirous to extend all the relief and aid in their power. In such a case no appeal to the sword to protect property becomes necessary.

Lord Macaulay is quite right in one thing. It is perfectly true that the authors of the wars, and of the corn laws, had the power in their own hands, and when the unhappy victims of their class legislation met together to devise means to procure food for their starving wives and children, they were attacked and ridden in upon, and cut down right and left, and trampled in the dust; and thus for the time clamour was stopped. The truth of this will be felt and acknowledged as long as the Manchester massacre is remembered.

The master of the slave ship has the same power. With a thousand slaves under hatches, dying for the want of food and air, and struggling for existence, he may rush in with his revolvers, shooting them right and left, and thus restore order; and he may consider this a very salutary act, and the invention of revolvers quite providential. It is possible however, that if the poor slaves had had a voice in the matter, if *their* votes had been taken, they would not have been slaves at all, but would have remained at home under

their own vine and fig tree ; in which case the captain would have been spared the necessity of putting down the riot, and also of expatiating on the merits of his acts, and the advantage of revolvers.

Had Lord Macaulay said, " Mr. Jefferson thinks too favourably of mankind ; he is inclined to trust to the masses more than is wise or patriotic," many would have agreed with him. But when he condemns universal suffrage, irrespective of the state of the intelligence of the people ; and when he advocates a limited, property, class suffrage, on the ground that it gives the ruling power the will and the ability to *re-enact* the Manchester massacre, it is to be hoped that very few sober, thoughtful, humane men, will coincide in his views.

ON the breaking out of the rebellion the mercantile sympathisers with the rebels expected an immediate and large trade with the so-called Confederacy, and a proposition was made for establishing a line of steam-ships between Liverpool and New Orleans, whereupon the following letter was written. The project was abandoned.

THE AMERICAN WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE establishment at the proper time of steam communication between Liverpool and New Orleans may be an enterprise of fair commercial speculation, but the public should not be misled and induced to advance money to the undertaking by the encouragement of expectations that will never be realised.

The supposition that the United States Government will permit importations into the revolutionary States at lower duties than into the other States is erroneous, and the expectation will prove delusive ; nor will the acknowledgment of the independence of those States ever take place.

Some cargoes of merchandize may be introduced during a limited period, but soon the ports of the rebel States will be blockaded. Smuggling may then occur, but that cannot benefit a respectable steam-boat company.

The United States Government has forborne to the utmost extent of human patience, and must now proceed to action. It is its bounden duty to protect the loyal subjects in the rebel States, forming, as they do, a large minority, or, as some suppose, even a majority, against the movements and designs of the revolutionists; and as much so, as it would be to protect them against foreign invasion. The "Confederate" Government, so called, is in all respects a usurpation; its acts being in no respect authorised by the free expression of the opinions of the people. Even left to itself, it cannot survive the inevitable effects of its own iniquities.

Louisiana, and the Floridas, including the removal of the Indians, cost the American people nearly three hundreds of millions of dollars. They were purchased from France and Spain for the purpose of securing the mouths of the Mississippi (the outlet to the great waters of the west, comprising more than seventy thousand miles of river shore navigation) and the waters of the Gulph of Mexico contiguous thereto; and to suppose that these possessions and this right will be yielded to another Power, is beyond expression preposterous. Should the Americans prove false to themselves, false to their antecedents, and false to their ancestry: this may take place, but never otherwise. Connected with the fact that this rebellion is inaugurated for the purpose of opening the African slave trade, and extending and perpetuating slavery throughout the whole Southern region of North America, if there be any truth in man, if there be any principle in this world worth contending for, the American nation will become depopulated, and the country become a wilderness, before submitting to so ignominious a result. Those who imagine that the American people are going to barter their principles either for money or for peace know nothing of them.

It is now admitted on all hands that the reasons given for rebellion were simply pretexts. That the whole thing has been a foul lie, got up by designing individuals for the purpose of elevating themselves to power, opening the African slave trade, and establishing a military despotism. In respect to real grievances under which the Slave States labour, if any, the whole nation declares in one voice, "they must and shall be redressed."

Nor will England and France in any way countenance this most unnatural rebellion. No minister would hold his place one day in England who would give aid or encouragement to a State established for the purpose of opening the African slave trade, and for extending slavery. The scorn of the people would drive him from the light of day.

The Morrill tariff, signed by James Buchanan, whose Ostend manifesto was a truthful index to the mind of the man, was unquestionably a most injudicious measure, whether regarded in its relation to revenue, or to the political aspect of the times. It will undoubtedly be modified on the assembling of the Congress in July.

The course the general Government will now pursue may be pretty clearly foreseen. It has called for 75,000 troops, and will call for 200,000 more. These can all be raised, if needs be, in forty-eight hours. The call is everywhere met in the Northern, Middle, and Western States, with an immediate response. The whole people act as one man. The rebel States will not be invaded, but all their ports will be blockaded; the Government forts will be relieved; the Governor of Texas will be aided, and the mails will be cut off. Then it will be left to time to open the eyes of the people of the seceded States to the iniquity of their leaders, and to the abyss of destruction they have been hurried to.

It would seem by the accounts to-day, that Jefferson Davis has authorised the issue of letters of marque; probably designing to replenish his treasury from some of the gold ships, which his efforts to obtain a loan have failed to accomplish.

To suppose that twenty-five millions of freemen, who are ready in a just cause, if needs be, to meet a world in arms, are going to have a fair portion of their country wrested from them, and the mouths of their magnificent rivers closed, by one quarter of a million of traitor oligarchs, is to imagine a depth of pusillanimity and depravity that the descendants of Englishmen never yet arrived at, nor ever will arrive at. Even were such a thing possible, the wicked would not go unpunished. The unerring justice of the Almighty would scourge from the face of the earth the authors of this most foul, uncalled for, and detestable rebellion.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 30th, 1861.

EXPLANATION.

AT an early period of the rebellion, the *Times* London newspaper, which assumed to be the leading journal, and from which, in fact, vast numbers of persons derive their political opinions, declared that "the great experiment had failed;" that the "great Republic had broken up;" the success of the rebels being simply a question of time. Therefore, in accordance with its proverbial tactics of endeavouring to be on the winning side, it lent its whole weight and influence to the rebels, in order to obtain the result predicted and ardently wished, and its sophisms, its misrepresentations, its insolence throughout the conflict, in treating of American affairs, knew no bounds. It sent its correspondent to America for the express purpose of damaging the Union, and bolstering up the rebel cause. Therefore, its proceedings required to be carefully watched, and its articles replied to, and this will serve as the reason for so much attention being given to them in these letters on the rebellion.

THE AMERICAN MARVEL.*

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THERE is a laboured editorial article in the *Times* of to-day on American affairs, which exhibits either gross ignorance, or most culpable disregard of facts. After stating that “the destinies of the American Union have been abortive,” that “the conquerors in the war of 1775 are destroying the work of their own hands,” and that “their renowned political edifice has collapsed,” it goes on to say that heretofore, when the English have fought, and when the French have fought, they have had some high principle to fight for, but that the Americans in the war now inaugurated have no principle to fight for; that “the North is not fighting to drive out slavery, nor the South for its independence,” but that, “stripped of its pretexts and its trappings, the contest stands out as a mere quarrel for territory, or a struggle for aggrandisement.”

This statement is a foul calumny. There is not the slightest truth in it. There is not a shadow of evidence in any of the facts bearing upon the case which gives even a colourable supposition in its support. It can hardly be supposed that it is written maliciously. The *Times* had on many occasions evinced feelings in respect to this dispute that would lead to a contrary conclusion. With the opportunities which the *Times* has of acquiring information, it ought not to arise through ignorance. It is rather to be supposed that it is an underhand mode of effecting the recognition of the rebel States; or that it arises from a habit the *Times* has fallen into of treating subjects with an insidious sophistry, far more dangerous to truth, virtue, and morality, than open profligacy.

No war ever waged was more just and holy than this, which the American Government and its loyal people are

* This and many of the following letters appeared in both the *Daily Post* and *London American*, but it will not be thought necessary to repeat it.

now entering upon. It has been forced upon them by a series of aggressions almost unparalleled. These aggressions had been submitted to so long, that even the *Times* cried out, pretending to doubt the spirit and manhood of the Government; and being ready to proclaim their new President to be a man without a plan, without any fixed principle, or course of action; a mere rudderless hulk, drifted about by the force of circumstances. But now, when the President comes out boldly, blockading the ports of the rebels, stopping their supplies, and proclaiming his intention to enforce the laws, and to put down treason; and when he issues a proclamation calling out 75,000 troops to man the forts, and to protect the Federal capital against threatened invasion by a traitorous mob, the *Times* exclaims, "What a spectacle is here! a Government going to war for no principle, for no object, save that of aggrandisement." A prostitution of facts and of truth, disgraceful to the press.

If the *Times* wishes to know what the American Government and its loyal people are going to war for, I will answer. It is to prevent "the collapse and ruin of this renowned political edifice;" to prevent the destinies of the American people from being "short-lived;" it is to uphold that glorious constitution culled from Magna Charta, and from the brightest pages of English jurisprudence, bequeathed to them by Washington and their immortal ancestors; a constitution under which the people have, for a period of three-quarters of a century, lived in full possession of liberty and protection, and have prospered beyond any other example in history, increasing from about three and a half millions to above thirty-one millions. They go to war to protect freedom; to protect their institutions, their firesides, and their honour; to protect the sacred cause of liberty, and to be able still to offer a refuge and a home to the poor and oppressed of all nations; and moreover, to keep and to hold unsullied the characteristic attributes inherited from the mother country.

This war has been forced upon the Government by the Southern traitors. There have been no means of avoiding

it. Treason was rampant and determined on aggression, and had it been possible for the Government to compromise its dignity, to relinquish its rights, and to come to terms, the war deferred from to-day would have broken out to-morrow. It would be impossible for two independent nations situated as these would be, to exist without incessant quarrels and wars. Moreover, the vile abominable doctrine of "secession" could not be admitted without shattering the constitution and the Union into a thousand pieces. As well might a *creed* be taught, and the *Commandments* be taught, with an injunction that they were to be believed and kept, so long as it might be convenient only, and that a portion or the whole might be discarded whenever it might be thought proper.

Should the *Times* say: "Granting everything that is here claimed for the Government and the loyal people, how is it that so much iniquity as has been exhibited on the adverse side has been engendered and fostered under such benign rule, and under such paternal influences?" the answer is plain. Man, free from restraints which chasten and correct his mind, maintaining it in a state of equilibrium, is prone to go astray. Or, if he be constantly and incessantly acted upon by circumstances immediately affecting his interests, which circumstances tend continually to demoralise his mind, to warp his judgment, and to stultify his sense of right, there cannot be a doubt that in the course of time, he will be brought to a state of incapability of discerning right from wrong.

Slavery has caused this demoralisation; it has been mainly at the bottom of the whole difficulty. The framers of the constitution found the institution of slavery fastened upon them. They dealt with it in a way which they supposed would keep it within the limits it then occupied, and they expected that it would eventually die out. At that period it existed in twelve of the thirteen States; Massachusetts being the only one in which it did not exist. Since then it has been abolished in six other of the thirteen States, and twelve Free States have been admitted into the Union,

making altogether nineteen Free States at the present time ; three of them with an average of three millions of inhabitants each. The expectations of these law-makers, however, have not been realised. They did not foresee that the culture of a plant would be introduced into the States of almost universal demand. They did not foresee that spinning and weaving would be, by the introduction of machinery and steam power, capable of almost unlimited expansion, and that the demand for the produce of this plant would be unlimited ; consequently, they did not foresee that the profits of slave labour, and the demand for slave labour, would in the minds of the slave owners override all other considerations. They may be forgiven for this oversight : it was not within the reach of human forethought. To such an extent has the very atmosphere in the Slave States become tainted by its action, that churches instituted for the worship of the Almighty, and a considerable portion even of the Methodist persuasion, hold slavery to be not only right and just in the eyes of man, but in strict accordance with the ordinances and commands of God. When people are in this state of mind, it requires no great stretch of imagination to suppose that they will not be scrupulous in any act of injustice or aggression towards their neighbours.

If the *Times* thinks this a war simply of aggrandisement, its countrymen in America do not think so. At the last dates a regiment of English volunteers was forming in New York in aid of the Government ; one Irish regiment had left for Washington ; the "Scotch Highlanders" were about proceeding thence ; seven thousand Irishmen had volunteered in New York, and the Irish in Boston were making up a regiment of 1,000 strong ; the Germans in New York had volunteered 1,000 men ; The French were making up a regiment, and the Italians, the Swiss, and the Hungarians (many of them experienced soldiers), were making up a regiment to be called the "Garibaldians." These noble fellows, these glorious adopted sons of a glorious republic, were determined to uphold the Government and the country which had given them a home and protection, and which

fully acknowledged a mutual obligation. On the other side, in opposition to this movement, throughout the whole of the Free States, not a voice was heard nor a word uttered.

Now let the *Times* ponder over these facts, and consider whether this war "is undertaken simply for aggrandisement;" and whether it be worth while to attempt to deceive the English people into the belief (by the means of subtle sophistry) that the war is voluntary, unnecessary, and ignominious; and let the people of Great Britain take care, as they will take care, that the Government does its duty; that it does not acknowledge a confederacy which has no *locus standi*; that has not shown to the world any cause for rebellion; that seeks to break up a Union more benign in its government than any other known in history; that had no substantial grievance, and that has for its great objects the perpetuating of slavery, the extension of it through all the Southern regions of North America, and indeed beyond, and the opening of the African slave trade.

Let the Government of Great Britain refuse to acknowledge this Confederacy. Let it treat privateers sailing under its flag as pirates, and this movement of iniquity will soon be brought to an end. No greater blow could be given to slavery; it would most certainly confine it within its present limits, and possibly lead to its entire abolition. Now is the time for the people of Great Britain to speak out. To some extent this course is due to the Americans. Slavery was introduced into America in opposition to the colonists, and in spite of their repeated remonstrances; and the great market opened here for cotton has been the main cause of its increase and of the present measures of the Confederates to extend it.

That the Government will act wisely and justly is to be expected. That the hearts of the whole people, on the question of slavery, beat in unison, and in the direction dictated by humanity and the commands of God, is indisputable.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 7th, 1861.

DR. GUTHRIE AND THE CIVIL WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IN the *Times* of to-day there is a report of a speech made by Dr. Guthrie at a public meeting in Edinburgh, in which, referring to the war in America, he says: “A civil war is of all calamities that can befall a country the most dreadful. And how does the haughty pride of both parties in this contest flare out—glare out? In the answer given by President Lincoln’s secretary* to the message sent by the Governor of Maryland, who, anxious for a peaceful settlement, proposes to refer the matter to the British Minister, Lord Lyons—a most Christian-like appeal; but how is it received? Resented! and with a fling at monarchies, forsooth; and he writes back and asks how any man could propose to refer the matter to arbitration, especially to a foreign monarchy?” The Dr. then enlarges upon this statement in an extravagantly vituperative strain, working himself up into a state of high indignation, and damaging, or attempting to damage, to the extent of his ability, the position of the American President and the American Government.

In reference to the first portion of the remarks, that “civil war is the most dreadful calamity that can befall a country,” the proposition may be said to be a matter of opinion; but unfortunately for the Dr., that opinion is nearly all against him. National dishonour, by which is meant giving up and forsaking principles founded in eternal truth and justice, is thought by many Americans, and by the whole of the Dr.’s own countrymen, to be a much greater calamity. It is to avoid this dishonour that the American Government and its loyal people have taken up arms. They regard with the contempt it so eminently deserves the miserable spirit that would accept peace and quiet at the expense of national honour.

* Mr. Seward.

In reference to the second portion of the Dr.'s remarks, it is altogether a gross misrepresentation. Pride did not flare out: no such answer was sent: there was no fling at foreign monarchies. Moreover, the Doctor ignores entirely the position of the parties, and the circumstances of the case, which required consideration as much as the actual words of the communication.

Eighty United States' troops, occupying a fort belonging to the United States, built on ground ceded by the State of South Carolina to the United States, and consequently belonging to no State, had been bombarded by seven forts manned and assisted by 7,000 rebels for more than forty hours, every means being used to destroy it, and all therein; and it is wonderful how anything but an especial Providence permitted a single one of its occupants to escape with life. The rebels had then threatened to march upon Washington, and to occupy it by the 4th of May. The President had called upon the States to assist him in defending it. Virginia, a border State, lying between Washington and the rebels, refused and joined the rebels, and attempted to seize the Government ships and stores within its boundaries, rendering it necessary for the few Federal troops in charge to destroy them. Maryland, lying between Washington and the free States, had promised to be faithful, but was apparently about to follow the example of Virginia; for at this time, some troops from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania arriving in Maryland, on their way to defend Washington, the seat of government of their common country, against the attack of traitors, were set upon by a mob of ten thousand ruffians, and three of them barbarously murdered, and many wounded. Young men, many of them nursed with care and brought up tenderly, fresh from loving homes and anxious mothers, the warmth of paternal embraces still lingering in their frames, on their way to defend the altars of their country and the inheritance that God had given them, set upon by a mob of men who had pretended to be friends. And what did this Governor of Maryland do! Turn out his troops and call upon all good citizens to put down this most atrocious

aggression, and punish its authors? No; but sent a hypocritical puling message to the President, asking him to let no more troops pass through Maryland, and suggesting that the dispute should be left to the arbitration of Lord Lyons! The matter in dispute, forsooth! A robber breaks into my house, and is robbing and murdering me, when a member of my family, sworn to protect me, puts his head into the window and recommends me not to resist, but to leave the quarrel to arbitration! The Duke of Wellington, under like circumstances, would have instantly sent the messenger to the right about, and would have hanged his employer the first moment he could have caught him.

But what did Mr. Seward, the President's organ, as mild and amiable a statesman as any in existence, do? Not one of the things represented by Dr. Guthrie, nor in any respect in the spirit represented by him. After stating the troops must come through Maryland, there being no other practical road, he replied to the suggestion of leaving the matter to Lord Lyons in a manner designed to arouse the latent feelings of patriotism in the Governor's breast, if a spark of it or a grain of manhood remained there; that if the Governor had forgotten all other sentiments that had pervaded the Union and bound its people together, there was one sentiment that had been universal for a period of eighty years, that could hardly be forgotten, and that was, that the internal affairs of the nation were not fit subjects for foreign arbitration, nor especially for that of a European monarchy. These are nearly the exact words.

No pride was exhibited; no such answer as represented was sent; there was no fling at European monarchies. The President's opinion was not even expressed, but simply reference made to what had been the universal sentiment. No man is more respected at Washington than Lord Lyons. No nation is more respected than the English nation; and there is no other person in this world that the American people would so soon leave a matter of fair foreign arbitration to, as Queen Victoria. The representation by Dr. Guthrie is a gross perversion of facts, and his vituperation

founded thereon is groundless and calumnious. It remains for him to show that he has unwarily fallen into error; but nothing can fully excuse one who is an authority, for falling into an error upon such a subject.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 13th, 1861.

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE *Times* of to-day reproduces to some extent the article that appeared in its number of the 7th instant, which was answered in your paper of the 10th instant. The unfairness and untenableness of the remarks then made were so manifest, it is surprising they should be repeated. In the article of to-day the *Times* continues: "Not only is there no cause for strife, but there is no prospect, or even possibility, of any gain in the end. It is not to be imagined that the North can hold the South in subjection, or that the South if it should succeed will better its condition. Stripped of its trappings, the contest will be a *quarrel for territory*. If the last hour of the great republic has arrived, the Americans will be plunging into the worst kind of war, for a cause that would be hard to invest with *any dignity or defensibility*. We know that slavery is an abominable thing, but we know how difficult must be the problem of abolition, and that *no convictions can justify civil war*."

The ignorance of American affairs exhibited in these articles, and in many others that appear in the *Times* from week to week, would render them unworthy of any notice, but for the fact that to some extent they give the tone to English feeling on the subject. The animus of the remarks under consideration is to show that the Government at Washington has the question of peace or war in its own hands—that to prevent war it has only to permit the seced-

ing States to go in peace and set up a confederation of their own; and the *Times* expressly declares that no *convictions* should stand in the way of so desirable an end as the prevention of civil war in any case, but especially not in this, which is "simply a contest for territory." Consequently the conviction that slavery would otherwise overspread the land, and that the Union would be broken up and freedom extinguished, would not justify the Government in enforcing the laws, if it were to lead to civil war—a doctrine, however true, Englishmen never yet have upheld, and the *Times* will cease to exist whenever it attempts to apply it to them.

In this case, however, the Government will not be responsible for the war. It does not inaugurate it. It simply attempts to enforce laws which it has sworn to execute, and which all are bound to obey—laws not made by despots nor oligarchs, but by the people themselves, and administered by themselves, and against which no one has uttered or can utter a word. The Government proposes to put these laws into force against traitors and rebels, who have stifled the voice of their own people; who have seized upon Government forts, arsenals, ships, and navy yards; stolen the Government money in banks; raised armies; attacked the Government troops, and threatened to march upon the capital and utterly destroy it; and when the Government proceeds to put down the authors of this high-handed villany, the *Times* has the audacity to call it inaugurating civil war, and simply for the sake of territory.

Let Lord Clyde be called from his retreat; let Havelock be called from his grave; and let them and the Ministers who abetted them be brought to trial for inaugurating civil war in India, by marching upon Delhi and Lucknow. And let the opponents of the Irish rebellion be brought to account; and whenever Repeal again is called for, let it be granted; do not oppose it, and inaugurate civil war. But these are not parallel cases; they are not nearly so atrocious. The Irish would have to seize British property, and ships, and money; attack British subjects, and hang innocent persons without trial, caught within their precincts, on suspicion of

British sympathies, and would have to demand the destruction of Magna Charta, an acknowledgment of the right to establish slavery in Ireland, the right to open the African slave trade, and an undertaking to return any runaway slaves that might be found in the British dominions. The *Times* had better endeavour to recommend this course.

But let this question relating to territory, which the *Times* considers a bagatelle, be first examined. The extent of the territory is about one million square miles. The rebel States demanded the right to carry their slaves into this territory, and to be protected in holding them there, with the intention of forming slave States as rapidly as the number of settlers would permit; thus turning the whole territory into slave States, and securing, for all time, the preponderance of the slave power in the Government and Councils of the nation. Moreover, they not only demanded this right but required that it should be put into the constitution (when at the present time the only recognition of slavery is in these words, viz., "persons held to service or labour in any State, escaping to another State, shall be given up"), and this arrangement would have established slavery in this vast region for all time, and also it would have encouraged the subjugation of Mexico and all Central America, and have effected the permanent establishment of slavery throughout the whole of those vast countries.

The *Times* may think this a trifling evil compared with that of civil war; but there are about nineteen millions of sober God-fearing people in America who expect to give an account of the deeds done in the body, who would rather see the whole of America sunk in the ocean than to be parties to such an arrangement.

Yielding this however, would not suffice. It is now acknowledged on all hands that this and other claims were but pretexts; that this rebellion has been fostered by ambitious unprincipled politicians, for more than thirty years; that they were determined to act the moment the power should pass out of the hands of slaveholders into the hands of non-slaveholders. The pretended grievances were set

forth simply as a blind to the Border States, to enlist their sympathies and carry them along in the movement.

The *object* of the rebels (now known to be) was to establish a government of which slavery forms the basis. To extend slavery throughout the Southern territories, and through all the Southern regions of North America, and to open the African slave trade. This has been openly avowed. Another object, not avowed, but already nearly accomplished, is to establish a military despotism.

Now let us consider what the Government would have to do to secure peace, and avoid, for the moment, civil war.

1st. It would have to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States and to abandon at once and for ever, to a military slave oligarchy, all the good and true-loving Union men in those States, forming a large minority, and in some even a majority—to abandon these whom the Government is sworn to defend, and whom not to defend is treason.

2nd. To admit that any State has a right to secede, and thereby to make the Constitution of no effect; to scatter its provisions to the winds; to acknowledge the complete overthrow of Government and the reign of anarchy.

3rd. To be aiders and abettors in enslaving a territory of at least one million of square miles, and other territories; and also aiders in opening the African slave trade.

4th. To agree to return into slavery all who should escape from slavery into the free States and territories.

Nothing short of these impossible terms would meet the demands of the rebel States; and in addition, those States would possess the mouths of the great rivers, which, rising in the Rocky Mountains, and at the Lake of the Woods, intersect the great West, giving egress to the ocean, and affording, as is estimated, seventy thousand miles of *navigable river coast*. There would also be a nice little dividing line to look after, extending from the Chesapeake to the Pacific Ocean, about 2,500 miles.

Suppose the American people were willing to consign themselves to everlasting infamy by agreeing to such terms; how long does the *Times* suppose a peace would last between

parties so situated? Possibly, until the ink of the signatures got dry.

The North is not coming to this pass. It will put forth its strength to execute the laws and crush rebellion. It will raise and sustain if necessary, an army of half a million of fighting men. It will drive out the traitors and leaders, and restore the good union-loving citizens of the seceded States to their rights and to the blessings of good government ("subjugation" will not be required—the word is not applicable to the case) and it will obtain and secure the respect and thanks of mankind, and of all future generations.

That civil war should arise through such causes is without doubt lamentable. But who, in this instance, is in fault? Surely not those who are simply attempting to enforce laws which they have sworn to execute, but the traitors—those who have made the war; those who have attempted to break up the Union; and also all those who have aided and abetted the nefarious schemes, including those who openly or covertly find excuses for the rebels and decry the Government and its measures.

The *Times* and the British Government, and all people and governments, may make up their minds to believe at once, and for ever, that the American Government and people will *never* permit, at least in this our day, a dissolution or severance of the Union.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 21st, 1861.

JEFFERSON DAVIS, THE "TIMES," AND SECESSION.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE claim made by some of the American States of the right to secede from the Union is based upon the assumption that they were independent sovereignties at the

time they subscribed to the constitution in 1787; and, being so, came into the Union for their own convenience and during pleasure, and consequently have a right to go out whenever they choose. It is known to all persons well informed on the subject that this pretension to right of secession is used merely as a blind to rebellion, for the purpose of alluring the thoughtless and ignorant. It is not believed in by its staunchest supporters. To give a colouring to the right to secede, its advocates find it necessary to show that the individual States possessed and enjoyed individual, distinct, and independent sovereignty at the time they accepted and subscribed to the constitution of 1787.

The *Times* here comes to their aid in order to contribute its influence to the establishment of a slave empire, and to the opening of the African slave trade. In its article of to-day, in criticising Jefferson Davis's message to the Southern "Congress," it is said: "Certain points are perfectly clear. In the first place the States were, previous to 1787, that is, four years after Great Britain had acknowledged their independence, absolutely sovereign and independent of each other." That is to say from 1783 to the year 1787, when they adopted the present constitution.

The *Times*, in this assertion, displays its ignorance as usual when writing on American affairs. Up to the year 1775, the date of the revolution, the provinces comprising what were afterwards the thirteen States, the parties to this constitution, were dependencies of the crown of Great Britain, and had never been in any respect up to that period (but certainly were not at that period, which is the only point of importance in this respect) independent sovereignties. During the succeeding years, until 1778, they were acting together under agreement, but still under the *nominal* dominion of Great Britain, and in many respects under the *actual* dominion, the whole of the States which have now seceded being in full possession of British troops. In the year 1778, "Articles of Confederation" were entered into by all the provinces or states. The style adopted was

the "United States of America." In these articles it is assumed that the States were free and independent, but no one supposed that this was anything more than an assumption, while the country was held to a great extent by British troops, and while legislation, even in many of the States, was in the possession of the crown. Under this confederation the battle was fought and won. No State conquered its own independence. Great Britain did not acknowledge the independence of any State separately, but of all as a body represented by the Confederate power.

These articles expressly declare "The Union shall be perpetual;" they continued in full force until 1787, when they merged into the present constitution. Therefore, at no time between 1778 and 1783, nor at any time between 1783 and 1787, did any one of the States possess distinct individual nationality or sovereignty. They had yielded their nationality to a union which they had declared to be "perpetual." The "Confederation" of 1778 merged into the constitution of 1787. The preamble of the latter commences thus:—"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union." It comes from the people, and not from the States. The declaration of "perpetual union" is not repeated in this constitution; but it is clear that a form of government is intended to be perpetual which does not provide for its own termination, and, especially when it points out modes of amendment, from time to time, to meet all future exigencies. Moreover, it is perfectly clear that it was the intention at the time to engraft the "articles of confederation" upon the constitution, and to carry its spirit into the constitution, "in order to form a more perfect union." Now, a union that could be broken by any one, or by all of the contracting parties, could not be considered a "more perfect union" than one which was declared to be "perpetual." This, therefore, disposes of the question of the intention at the time. The fact of the constitution being "perpetual" rests upon the immutability of the proposition, that the vitality of a compact consists in the parties being bound to the terms of it until released by mutual

consent, and that nothing can be called a compact, or of any significance or value whatever, which may be broken by any or all of the parties at any and at all times. Moreover, this was not a compact of States, but a covenant of a people who had formed a union declared to be "perpetual," whose individual votes were taken, and who gave their votes for the purpose of forming a "more perfect union." No State can step in and amend this covenant; it can be altered only in the way pointed out in the covenant, or by another direct vote of the people.

But, to return to the declaration of the *Times*. It is clearly shown that between the years 1783 and 1787 the thirteen States were acting under "Articles of Confederation" to which they had surrendered their nationality, and individual sovereignty, and, therefore, they did not possess during those four years individual sovereignty, as the *Times* declares they did, and, consequently, it follows that the *Times* has failed in amending the mock position of the Seceders.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 22nd, 1861.

THE *TIMES'* SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE only fit comment on the letter from the *Times'* correspondent in yesterday's paper, from South Carolina, is, that the South Carolinians have deceived him, and that he has betrayed them. They had better have given him a pension for life than to have permitted that letter to be written. In respect to the ancestry of the South Carolinians, they are mainly descendants from a company that went from Gascony and settled there. Of the settlers of Virginia, the Carolinas, &c., a modern historian thus speaks:—

"The settlements of New England were made by a very

different class of men from those who colonised Virginia. They were not adventurers in quest of gain. They were not broken-down gentlemen of aristocratic connexions. They were not the profligate and dissolute members of powerful families. They were puritans that belonged to the middle ranks of society. They were men of stern and lofty virtue, of invincible energy, and hard and iron wills. They detested both the civil and religious despotism of their times, and desired above all worldly considerations the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and for that inestimable privilege were ready to forego all the comforts and elegances of civilised life, and to brave the dangers which would beset them from savage Indians and a cold inhospitable wilderness."

South Carolina revolted from its proprietors in 1715; from the crown in 1769; again in 1775; from the Confederate States in 1779; and now from the American Union. New York city could accommodate the whole of the white population of South Carolina, without its raising the price of lodgings.

The *Times*' Correspondent might have added that the basis of the religious and political creed of those who were feasting him is that the black was created for a slave to the white, and that it is disgraceful for white men to labour.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 30th, 1861.



THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE letter in your paper of to-day, on the "American crisis," embodies precisely the sentiments that might have been expected from the well-known kindliness of heart of the reverend author. Let him by all means proceed in

the course proposed, and bring to bear on the subject the greatest possible amount of unanswerable argument and Christian influence. It may possibly arrest the course of the *Times* newspaper, in using its influence to establish a slave power; and possibly may prevent this Government from acknowledging the Confederate rebels, and thereby lending its aid to the establishment of a slave empire.

In respect to the rebels, the time for arguing with them has gone by. Every argument has been already exhausted. Nothing but main force will have any effect with them. They must succumb at once, or be crushed out of existence. If they do succumb, and the Union feeling is allowed to display itself in the rebel States, and those States drop quietly back into the Union, as would be the case, then the institution of slavery will not be interfered with in the States where it now exists. It will continue there until those States acting individually shall see fit to abolish it. The constitution, in that respect as well as all others, will be respected. But if they come to blows, if the rebellion is put down by pitched battles, then slavery in the States is doomed. It will be at once and for ever extinguished. Therefore the philanthropist has to choose between these two evils; could there be any hesitation?

It would, however, be a reflection upon a large number of Christians in Great Britain, including the whole body of Friends—but especially so upon the people of the Free States of America, to suppose that the arguments suggested by the rev. gentleman have not already been used and been presented in a thousand different shapes; in kindness and in anger, in pity and in sorrow. For years and years the pulpit and the press in the Northern States have rung with argument and persuasion; every idea suggested by the rev. gentleman has been taken up, enlarged upon, and pursued to its fullest expansion. Hundreds and thousands of the people have devoted a good portion of their lives and fortunes in advocating the doctrines now recommended; and the rebellion has no doubt been precipitated by the

very bitterness of their truth. It is quite within the fact to say that all the newspapers published in Great Britain in six months would not contain what has been spoken and written to the same effect as suggested by the rev. gentleman, and yet, what has been the result? Such is the demoralising effect of slavery, that the Episcopal Church and the Wesleyan connection in the slave States uphold slavery as an institution of the Almighty and a great blessing. The mind is seared against argument "as with a red-hot iron." The matter is in the hands of Providence, and it is to be hoped the word will go forth, "Let my people go free."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 30th, 1861.

N O R T H A N D S O U T H.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IN reply to a letter in your paper of to-day, signed "An American Merchant," I beg to say there can hardly be a doubt that nearly every merchant in the rebel States would be glad of the interference of England, or, of any other power, if it would relieve them of the intolerable tyranny of Jefferson Davis and his associates; nor can there be a doubt that Jefferson Davis himself would gladly accept the arbitration of England; insomuch as it would raise him from the position of a rebel to that of a contracting power. But it is a case which does not admit of arbitration; *that* Lord Lyons and Lord John Russell well know; or it would have been tendered long since. As well might the American Government offer to arbitrate on the question of church rates, now before Parliament. Mr. Seward did not inform the Governor of Maryland that the quarrel could not be left to the arbitration of any foreign Power, as your correspondent asserts; he simply reminded him that "the universal sentiments in America, for a period

of eighty years, had been that domestic matters did not form a fit subject for foreign arbitration." Nor did I say, or insinuate, as your correspondent says I did, that the Governor of Maryland was a *traitor* for proposing arbitration; nor that the proposition was *infamous*. I said his conduct was traitorous and infamous, and that his proposition of arbitration was puerile and hypocritical.

Nor did I deny the fact of the *Times*' correspondent being an authority. I merely said that, on the particular occasion alluded to, his informants had either made asses of themselves or an ass of him; and I have not since heard any one speak of that letter who was not of the same opinion. Indeed, the fact that the *Times* (so far as I have been able to discover) has never commented upon it, or even alluded to it, as is its custom with letters from this correspondent, is significant of its condemnation.

My reason for applying the term "traitor" to those persons who have rebelled against their own laws, against their own rule, for the purpose of establishing a slave empire, is, that there is no other word in the English language that would correctly designate them.

Your correspondent's "hope that peaceable counsels may prevail, and that a fair country will not shed its children's blood" (any further, it might have been added than the traitors have already shed it) may be gratified in one of two ways, viz., 1st, by the rebels submitting at once, and quietly falling back into the Union; or, 2ndly, by the North giving up everything worth living for—its honour, its nationality, its principles (as set forth in my letter in the *Daily Post* of the 21st of May), and permitting the establishment of a slave empire, the opening of the African slave trade, and the perpetuation of slavery throughout the whole Southern regions of North America. Peace may readily be had on either of these conditions; but neither the arbitration nor the power of Europe will secure it upon the latter condition.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 3rd, 1861.

SHALL PRIVATEERING BE FOR EVER ABOLISHED ?

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

THIS question is now to be determined by the British Government. In the year 1856, the Governments of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey, in their conference at Paris, agreed that the following principles should be established in their international relations: viz.—

1st. *Privateering is, and remains abolished.*

2nd. *The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.*

3rd. *Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag.*

4th. *Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.*

Other nations were invited to become parties to the agreement.

These propositions were presented by the French minister at Washington to the American Government for acceptance. In July, the same year, the American Government replied, that the fourth principle concerning blockades was already fully and universally recognised as a rule of international law; that it promptly and cheerfully acceded to the second and third, which for many years it had been striving to introduce into international law; and that to the first it proposed to add these words:—

“ And that the private property of the subjects or citizens of the belligerent on the high seas, shall be exempt from seizure by the public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband.”

This was not a rejection of the proposition, but simply

for the purpose of extending the principle further, and in a form against which no valid reason can be urged by those who are zealous and honest in the cause of humanity. The amendment was not accepted by the contracting powers, but this did not close the negotiation. The offer still remained open, it not being the object of the contracting powers to confine the action to themselves, for their especial benefit; but on the contrary for the world at large, to induce all nations to come into the agreement; if not on the moment, then as soon after as it could be accomplished. Upon the present administration coming into office, on the 4th of March, Mr. Seward, the present Secretary of State, found this in the portfolio of "unfinished business," and immediately, it is said, on the 25th of April, notified the Government of England and France, that "the American Government accepted also the first stipulation of the agreement of the conference of Paris."

This acceptance would therefore appear to be conclusive and binding upon America and the other Powers without any further action. Should it be urged that this is not so—that the American Government did not intend to accept this proposition, but has come into it for its own convenience upon an occasion which could not be foreseen—it may be answered; supposing this to be true, what does it signify? The principle of the measure is not affected by the course which the American Government has taken, or may take in reference to it. It is either right or wrong. If right, it is highly desirable to get not only the United States, but all Governments to come into the arrangement. If wrong, then let it be abandoned by all parties.

It has been *heretofore* shown that the United States Government has from its earliest infancy endeavoured to procure the abolition of war against private property on the ocean, whether by private or public armed vessels. That not finding the belligerents of Europe sufficiently advanced in the cause of humanity to take this step, it negotiated treaties at different periods with France, the Netherlands, Prussia, Holland, Spain, England, and the South American

Republics, declaring it piracy for the citizens of either country to engage in privateering against the other, under the flag of a third party, with which that country might be at war ; a plan calculated to curtail the evils of privateering and the correctness of which the British Government has to some extent recognised in its recent proclamation of neutrality. Therefore, it cannot be fairly said that the United States Government has been induced simply by the force of circumstances, to agree to the abolition of privateering, when it had made these attempts to limit its action, and also endeavoured to procure the abolition for ever of war against private property on the ocean, the same as it had been abolished on the land.

Should it be urged that justice to the so-called "Confederate States," forbids the principle being enforced at this particular period it may be asked (setting aside the fact they have no acknowledged sovereignty), what right any nation has to call upon the allies to suspend action in a cause which they know to be right and demanded by humanity, simply that it may benefit by wrong doing ? Or, should it be urged that privateering will cripple the Americans and thus benefit England, it may be answered in the first place that the commercial relations between the two nations are so intimately interwoven, that whatever injures one, to some great extent similarly affects the other ; and secondly, that it is by no means certain that the depredations of the Confederate privateers will be confined to American ships ; but on the contrary it is morally certain they will not. The privateers will be manned by the most lawless and desperate villains of all nations, whose only object will be plunder, and who will pay very little attention to the flag under which a vessel may sail, and as very few ports in the world will be open for the sale of cargoes, the gold ships will be sought for all over the ocean. Whether between England and the States, or from Mexico, the West Indies, California, or Australia, they may be waylaid on every part of the ocean, and as dead men tell no tales, whenever fallen in with they may be sunk with all on board, after being robbed of their

treasures. This is not imaginative, but what will probably take place if privateering be allowed.

The British Government has now an opportunity to carry into effect a humane principle ardently advocated by its people, not only preventing barbarities that will otherwise be perpetrated, but establishing the principle for all time, and perhaps leading eventually to the abandonment of war altogether. The question may therefore be repeated, Shall privateering be for ever abolished? The people of Great Britain wait an answer, and will scarcely accept a negative reply.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 10th, 1861.



WHAT THE LINCOLN GOVERNMENT ACCOMPLISHED IN FORTY DAYS—NO SIGNS OF INACTIVITY.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—NOTWITHSTANDING the wish so frequently expressed that the American difficulty may be settled without bloodshed, an actual desire underlies this expression to hear of a great battle, and that immediately, even before time has been called, or the curtain has risen.

In former times, the weekly gazette, giving meagre outlines of the movements of troops, and of battles, was patiently waited for, and the tramp of armies accomplishing perhaps fifteen miles a day, was regarded with satisfaction. But now that steam and lightning, charged with the reports and speculations of thousands of correspondents, flash their messages with electric quickness into the columns of more than half a million of news-sheets daily, the mind becomes impatient of physical movements, forgetful of the weakness

of poor humanity, and censorious if the great tragic chess game is not played out with the same exactness and rapidity.

The present Administration at Washington assumed the responsibilities of office on the 4th of March. During that and the following month it was accused of supineness, of want of energy, of having place without policy, of being devoid of concentration and vitality, and dependent for its existence upon the support and action of the loyal States in their individual capacity. It was freely asserted that the days of the Federal Government were numbered; and that its existence had been but a delusion and a snare: that at the threshold of the first real difficulty it was falling to pieces like a rope of sand; that the sections had a right to disintegrate themselves; and that any attempt to prevent it would amount to unpardonable tyranny; that the Government had only the right to fulfil the prophecy that despotism had pronounced against it, and prove itself a sham.

When the attack on Fort Sumpter opened the eyes of the American people and proclaimed the fact that the rebels were in earnest and meant war, and the President issued his proclamation, calling for volunteers and announcing his determination to put down the conspiracy, a morbid sensibility was excited, and pious hands were lifted up in seeming astonishment at the horrible brutality of "brothers shedding brothers' blood," when that or the yielding of every principle of government was the only alternative.

This phase in public sentiment has passed, and with the reports of stirring military movements, impatience for action has taken its place. This desire pervades alike America and England, and so far as the former country is concerned, is the greatest difficulty which General Scott has to encounter. *Unless checked by calmness and reason it may yet lead to serious disasters.* The wish to hear of contests by land and sea, to read the details of great battles, is becoming pretty general in England, and some are afraid that the sectional armies, after all, have no desire to come into

collision, that after all the show, the beat of drums, and the clangor of arms, the whole difficulty will end in smoke.

Let us examine carefully into the facts. On taking possession of the executive chair, Mr. Lincoln found the affairs of Government in a state of utter disorganisation. Imbecility and treason had made ample preparations for the final stroke. Seven States were in a condition of rebellion; the small army was scattered; the navy dispersed to distant seas; Government funds had been stolen; forts, arsenals and munitions of war seized and appropriated for the destruction of the power from which they had been taken; and, what was most deplorable, every department of the Government, civil and military, was occupied to a great extent by persons of more than doubtful loyalty. Mr. Lincoln proceeded to select his Cabinet and to make the minor appointments. The army and navy were recalled; the exchequer put in order; ministers were dispatched to Europe, and the Government quietly waited for the fuller development of the treasonable designs and the expression of the public sentiment. No precedent could be found for a guide, as no such complications had ever before arisen, and time alone could indicate the course that ought to be pursued.

On the 13th of April, Fort Sumpter was captured, and of the determination of the insurgents there could no longer be a doubt. On the 15th, the first proclamation for volunteers was issued; on the 19th, the first Massachusetts' regiment arrived in Washington, a distance of 500 miles from Boston. On the 25th of May, only forty days after the date of the first proclamation, it was estimated that not less than 250,000 volunteers were under arms, and as many more in reserve. The Government had collected 30,000 troops at Washington, ensured the allegiance of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, and prepared for the protection of Western Virginia. It had established an encampment of 10,000 men at Cairo, the Southern terminus of the Illinois Central Railroad, at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, to guard those rivers, overawe the rebels in that section,

and cut off the supplies intended for them. It had collected 15,000 men in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, 52 miles north-west of Washington, had concentrated in and about Fort Monroe, 130 miles south-east of the Federal capital nearly 15,000 more, and advanced 13,000 into Alexandria, about six miles below, on the base line of the angle of operations. It had blockaded the entire Southern sea-coast, a distance of 2,000 miles, stopped all the inland supplies and cut off the mails of the rebel States. *And all this in forty days!*

When the magnitude of these operations and the time taken are compared with the *months* consumed in getting ready the 30,000 men ordered to the Crimea from this country, with no treason in the camp to embarrass the movements, the American Government and people cannot be accused of slothfulness. There is scarcely an instance on record exhibiting so much vigour and celerity. Considering all these advanced preparations, and the ready resources at command, one would think that Mr. Lincoln might calmly await the result without further action. The "Confederates" are spending their substance at the rate of 100,000,000 dollars per annum, without a chance of creating a revenue even to the extent of 1,000,000 dollars, except by direct taxation, a system to which the people will not readily submit. Without credit at home or abroad how is it possible for them to maintain a protracted warfare? The contest, under the most favourable conditions might be considered almost hopeless, but with the immense and ever-increasing balance against them they have not the slightest chance of success.

The next arrival may bring an account of an attack upon Norfolk or Harper's Ferry, but it is not probable that General Scott will permit an advance upon Richmond at present, nor upon the South before the early frosts, say in the middle or latter part of October. No less than 75,000 men would be required for an attack upon Richmond—25,000 to march up the Peninsular, 25,000 from Harper's Ferry, and the same number from Alexandria, with a reserve

of 30,000 at Washington. At the same time no less than 25,000 should proceed from Illinois and Ohio, across Kentucky into Eastern Tennessee. Should these movements bring the insurgent communities to their senses the people of the United States will rejoice, but should they not have that salutary effect, the object will eventually be accomplished, no matter what may be the sacrifice of life and property.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 11th, 1861.

THE following letter appeared in the *New York Times*, and also in the *London American*. The writer must admit that he had too much faith, at this period, in the anti-slavery profession in Great Britain ; but the letter will show that his leaning in this, and also in other respects, was towards this nation, and not against it, as some might infer from subsequent articles.

THE REAL SENTIMENTS OF ENGLAND TOWARD AMERICA.

From the LONDON AMERICAN.

THE author of the following communication is an American gentleman who has been a resident in this country for many years, and there can be no doubt that he is well informed as to the actual sentiments which are cherished by the people of England towards the United States. The letter is addressed to the editor of the *New York Times* in reply to an ignorant, ill-advised communication recently published in that journal, and is kindly furnished to us by the author (who, by the way, is one of our frequent correspondents) simultaneously with its being transmitted to our New York contemporary.

SIR,—No one acquainted with the facts connected with the subjects alluded to, can read the remarks of your

Parisian correspondent upon the English people and Government, in his letter of May 14th, published in your weekly paper of the 5th instant, without surprise, pain, and indignation.

I say, without any qualification, that your correspondent is most grossly deceived. He says :—"The English Government is rejoiced at the threatened dismemberment of the American Union; it will remain a sworn enemy of the United States. This feeling is not confined to the aristocracy; but pervades the business community, who are willing to submit to the losses that will ensue, in order to see their rival humiliated. All they ask is to see each party tearing the other to pieces."

The whole of the above is a most atrocious misrepresentation. The Government does not wish to see the Union dismembered. The Government is not a sworn enemy to America, and therefore cannot remain so. There is hardly a person in all England that wishes to see the American Union dismembered. There is hardly a person in Great Britain who wishes to see the American people tearing each other to pieces. There is hardly one in this country but wishes to see the American people great, prosperous, and happy.

Your correspondent further states :—"It is said Lord Palmerston's bones would turn in their grave, if he should die without seeing a war between England and the United States; such is his hatred to the Yankees. Lord John Russell knew very well when he acknowledged, for the Southern Confederacy, the right of 'belligerents,' that he was prolonging and embittering the struggle between brothers, and rekindling all the old fury and hatred of the revolution." There is no substantial truth in this whole paragraph. Lord Palmerston does not desire war with America. No man would regret more than Lord John Russell, war, or the rekindling of old hatreds between England and America. It is the greatest desire of Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and of the British Government, to remain at peace with America; and they, and nearly every person in Great

Britain, would regard a war with that country as a very great calamity ; second to hardly any that could befall this great nation.

I have been a close observer of the feelings and sentiments of the English people for a period of more than forty years, during the whole of which time I have never been induced, either by favour, observation, or argument, to swerve from my American democratic principles, and having always belonged to the Radical-reform party, have been quickly observant of any manifestations of anti-Americanisms and feelings ; and I know what I say in reply to your correspondent's observations, to be true.

Your correspondent continues :—" England is now the biggest bully the world has ever seen. With 700 armed vessels, 200,000 men for foreign service, and with a volunteer force sufficient to protect the islands, all the arrogance of former years has returned, especially towards the weaker Powers, and John Bull feels like taking his revenge for the insults America has heaped upon him."

I do not pretend that residence in England fits me to be a better judge on the subject of this portion of your correspondent's remarks, as it does in the portions already noticed, than one residing on the other side of the channel ; but still as a general observer and chronicler of events, I say this is pure nonsense. Instead of bullying others, an undue anxiety has been manifested the last few years, to increase the home defences against invasion. Only yesterday, the *London Times* deprecated the sending even so small a force as 3,000 men to Canada, lest they should be required at home. Is war with Russia in defence of Turkey ; is siding with Sardinia against Austria ; is putting the foot down with Prussia and France, bullying ? And what weak power is England bullying ? Is it America with her two millions of armed men ? Your correspondent affirms that America has heaped insults upon England, and that England is anxious to be revenged. If America has insulted England, it is natural to expect that satisfaction will be required ; but I would ask, with the hatred represented, and the great desire to go

to war, and with the immense force spoken of at command, why has England not resented these insults and gone to war with America? There is no truth in it. America has never degraded itself by intentionally insulting England. In some instances she has been petulant and unnecessarily pugnacious; especially over that frivolous matter of enlistments in New York: but she has never intentionally offered an insult to this country. And here let me remark that it is high time for the American nation to leave off playing the boy and to take the position of the man. It is high time for the American nation to leave off acting the small power, through showing, upon every trivial occasion, that it is not afraid to fight; and to assume the position of a first-rate power, equal to any, capable of bearing and forbearing, regardless of being accused of a want of spirit, or pusillanimity.

Your correspondent closes by saying, "Should the contest between the North and South be elevated to a struggle for the emancipation of slavery, then the sympathies of all classes in England and Europe will be given to the North and to President Lincoln. It is not sufficient to tell England that slavery is the cause of the present contest, its abolition must be the object." This is unquestionably true, but cannot your correspondent see that it nearly annihilates his previous assertions. Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell, and the English people, are ready to give up their hates, to forego their desire for war, to deny themselves the pleasure of the "tearing to pieces!" and for what? simply to see the quarrel "elevated to a struggle for the emancipation of slavery," a measure that no one pretends would be of any pecuniary benefit to them, but which, on the contrary, would, as many suppose, interfere with the supply of cotton, which they are now accused of holding above the considerations of conscience. Really their hatred must be very trivial, or their philanthropy very large—let them have the benefit of both.

Now, Mr. Editor, I will inform you of a feeling that exists in England, which Americans often mistake for enmity to themselves and to their institutions. England has, by

perseverance through a long, dark, dreary period, the merit of which it is not in the power of language too highly to extol, established constitutional freedom ; trial by jury, liberty of speech, and freedom of the press to the fullest extent ; perfect liberty of conscience, and the sanctity of the soil to all who may flee to it. She has nurtured, maintained, and established these, in opposition to the example of thousands of years of the barbarisms and despotisms of the world. All Americans admit that but for England, their own nation, as it is, or in any similar condition, would never have existed. The people generally, therefore, have a very natural belief, that a constitutional, well-balanced monarchy is the best form of Government. A large party are of the opinion that a limited right of suffrage in the election of members of Parliament, with *viva voce* voting, is safer and better than extended suffrage and vote by ballot, and that a tendency to Monarchies is preferable to a tendency to Democracies. The radical reformers are desirous of infusing more of the democratic principle, and especially of limiting the aristocratic element ; which, by-the-way, has been mainly instrumental in the great work of limiting the power of the crown and in establishing the boasted constitutional monarchy ; and are always holding up the American Government, in evidence of the truth of their theory. Consequently, the large Conservative party, would not dislike to see, at any time, proof of the weakness of the American system, and of the necessity for its being made less democratic : but this arises neither from hatred nor jealousy ; but partly from a desire to see long cherished opinions confirmed, and partly from party spirit.

Some angry feelings have been excited over the Morill tariff—not so much from its threatened interference with trade, as from its antagonism to what the people have of late years been taught to regard as sound political economy ; consequently, indignation has been the prominent feeling in respect to it. Perhaps few of its supporters even, can show the policy and justice of doubling the duties on articles of necessity, when the home manufacturer already was making

more than fifty per cent. profit, annually, upon his capital invested. It may be said that the Buchanan administration left a double legacy, rebellion and the Morrill Tariff. The North will put down the former; will it abolish the latter? Not so much however, has been said against this tariff in England, as has been said against it by the New York papers.

In judging of the English Government, it must be borne in mind that it is to some extent a government by precedent and not a government of impulse or sentiment. Its acts do not always by any means express the extent of its sympathies.

If war ever occurs between England and America, it will be owing more to the evil tendency of the mischievous writings of foolish or designing people, than to any real enmity or cause of difference. I have a right to raise my voice against the unfair language of American writers. I have raised it against English writers; and being an American of two hundred years ancestry, I claim the right to be heard.

America has now to put down this most wicked rebellion. If it costs half the lives and half the wealth of the nation it must and will be done; otherwise the hopes of the world will recede and despotism will take heart. But I do not fear—America will yet show to the philanthropist, to the oppressed, and to the whole race of mankind, that the aspirations and labours of Washington and the galaxy of sages and patriots by whom he was surrounded and assisted in establishing its glorious Government, were not in vain.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

P.S. Since writing this letter I have shown it to the editor of a widely-circulated newspaper; a highly intelligent well-informed man, well acquainted with the feelings of the ministry and of the British people, and he declares, "I have given a truthful account, and in no respect exaggerated the feeling entertained by the Government and the whole people."

S. A. G.

June, 1861.

From the LONDON AMERICAN, amongst other Letters read at the Dinner.

Edgbaston, Warwickshire, July 1, 1861.

GENTLEMEN,—I HAVE received a circular, inviting me to a breakfast on the 4th of July to celebrate the day. At almost any other period I should rejoice to come; but at this time I cannot. I am too sad to be merry over anything, unless it points immediately to the restoration of the American Union, and I do not wish to be merry nor to eat nor drink until that be accomplished. I hope the Committee and the speakers will bear in mind that at the present time but one thing should be looked to, viz., the restoration of all the States to the Union. Until that is accomplished, all other questions are in abeyance. Any one who says anything in excuse of the base rebellion, or attempts to palliate it in any way, or proposes any compromise, or any terms whatever, *short of the restoration of all the States and thorough submission to the Constitution*, until it can be amended (if it requires amendment) in a constitutional way, is as great an enemy to the cause, perhaps a worse enemy, than an open undisguised rebel. We want no such friends; let them go over to the enemy at once; we shall know how to treat them there.

Rather than not see this most wicked rebellion put down, I would see the whole American people sunk into the bottom of the ocean, and myself with them; but it must and will be put down. How is the American character to be cleared of the foul stain cast upon it by such men as Twiggs, Beauregard, &c., who have disregarded their oaths and every tie of feeling of honour that binds even the greatest blackguards in the army and navy of England and France? I do not see the way. Is it all owing to demoralisation through the poison of slavery?—I have the honour to be, your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

To the Committee for Celebrating the 4th of
July in London.

THE LATE DEFEAT.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—No doubt a serious disaster has befallen the American Government troops, but any who suppose this (or disasters one hundred times greater) is going to lead to any compromise of rebellion, will find themselves mistaken. The moral effect will be to strengthen rebellion in the South, and prolong the contest, but it will most likely arouse a feeling in the North that will stop short of nothing but the complete emancipation of the slaves. Already a bill has passed the Senate, 32 to 6, emancipating all slaves found assisting the rebels in armed resistance. The result of this battle has been foreseen and feared. General Scott has been urged to a premature advance, and has submitted to a pressure that he could not resist. Fifty-five thousand men were marched against 60,000—since said by prisoners to be 100,000—strongly entrenched, and defended by numerous batteries. It appears by the latest accounts that but 22,000 of the Union troops were engaged. These fought well, carried several batteries, and supposed the victory was theirs for a time. It is said, “from the beginning to the end not a soldier flinched, and an Englishman who was present and had been in the Crimean battles, said such charges as the Fire Zouaves and the 69th regiment made, he did not see at Inkerman or Alma.” At that time the rebels, being reinforced by 25,000 men, made a furious charge, and a panic ensuing, from the supposition that a general retreat was taking place, a rout became inevitable. The rebels, however, had not followed up the advantage, and the Government troops had quietly re-occupied their former positions at Alexandria, Georgetown, and Arlington. This advance was premature, and ought not to have been made. It was evident that no move should have been made with less than 75,000 troops from Washington, and 45,000 from Harper’s

Ferry and Western Virginia. This I pointed out to you long before that battle, but you did not insert the communication. The affair may, however, be considered providential. It will bring the North up to the necessity of emancipating the slaves, which is clearly the design of Providence, if man may read that design. Sixty thousand fresh troops had been offered to Government within twenty-four hours and accepted. The total loss of the Government troops will not exceed 1000. General McLellan had been ordered from Western Virginia to take the place of General McDowell.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 5th, 1861.



THE ULTIMATE EFFECT OF THE ROUT IN EASTERN VIRGINIA.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—No doubt a serious disaster has befallen the Federal troops; but if any suppose that it will lead to any compromise with rebellion they will find themselves altogether mistaken. On the contrary, it will turn out a second “Sumpter” affair, arousing the North to the consciousness of the necessity of putting an end, not only to the rebellion, but to the cause of it—viz., slavery. This disaster is the precursor to emancipation. It is the finger of Providence pointing out the direction. The United States’ Senate has already, since this event, passed a law—32 to 6—forfeiting (which is emancipation) all slaves who have in any way assisted in the rebellion.

But for the fact that this repulse may be considered providential, one would regret that General Scott had allowed himself to be urged by civilians against his judgment to start this expedition. Evidently, his plan was not matured. To start 55,000 men against 60,000 (afterwards

increased to 95,000), strongly entrenched, and defended by numerous batteries, was simply sending them to run their heads against a wall. Many persons cognizant of the facts have looked for this result. More than a month since *it was stated by me in your paper* that no attempt should be made on the main body of the rebels with less than 75,000 men in front, and 25,000 on their left wing. Had that programme been adhered to this disaster would not have occurred, but then rebellion might have subsided, and slavery, the cause of all this mischief, would have been confirmed where it now exists. It is now to be feared that Beauregard will fall suddenly on General Patterson's (now Banks's) force, and cut it up before relief can be extended to it. The rebels however, must have suffered severely from the desperate charges made upon them by the 22,000 troops brought into action, and may now have too wholesome an estimate of what they have to deal with to undertake any bold movement. The Canada packet will inform us on this point.

G.

August 5th, 1861.

THE BATTLE OF MANASSAS JUNCTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE question is not why was this battle lost, but why it was fought. General Beauregard, educated at West Point, and acknowledged to be a skilful engineer, had selected Manassas Junction as a place combining great natural advantages for defence, and had been engaged about two months, assisted as it is stated by 10,000 negroes, throwing up earthworks, erecting batteries, and in placing the position in a state of security. He had, according to the statements which the Unionists prior to the movement by their troops, considered reliable, manned the position with 60,000 troops,

having another body at Richmond, within railway call, and 25,000 more within call from Harper's Ferry. The place ought to have been nearly impregnable, and to have required a regular siege by a superior force to reduce it. Todleben would have defended it against 100,000 of the best troops that England and France could have brought against it. General Jackson with less than 5,000 troops from the same districts as Beauregard's troops, and with no greater military practice, defended barricades improvised on the moment from cotton bags, against the assault of 12,000 of as good troops as ever stepped (the Duke of Wellington's from the Peninsula), beating them back, and routing them, and killing and placing *hors de combat* 3,000 men. While here, these poor fellows, most of whom had never seen an action, and many of whom had been but just mustered into service, were launched against a strongly fortified place, defended by more than their own number.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, they behaved nobly and fought bravely, overcoming whatever was opposed to them, until overwhelmed at the critical moment by the reinforcement which had come in from Harper's Ferry. That was a Blucher and Grouchy affair, on a small scale. The assertion of the *Times*' correspondent that there was no hard fighting, cannot be believed. He turned upon the first show of danger, fleeing with the other civilians pell-mell ingloriously from the field, and not stopping until he was safe in Washington: he could not know what had taken place in front. Beauregard admits a loss of five generals and 2,000 killed, and there is no reason to suppose he overrated his own loss. Why should he? At Charleston he denied having lost a single man. The *Times* then said that underrating losses was a trick understood by the Americans, as well as the Russians. Why should it not hold good in this case? The fact is there was hard fighting, and great individual courage, self-devotion, and personal intrepidity, and the Americans should raise a monument to these brave fellows, who so nobly offered up their lives in defence of their country. That the retreat was disorderly

cannot be questioned; it will always be so until men become sufficiently trained to *have confidence in each other*. It is but a reflex of what will occur to our riflemen should they ever be thrown against masses of veteran troops.

The movement against Manassas Junction should not have been made with a less force than 130,000 men, taking the premises which the Unionists (the civilians) themselves laid down. This is not simply an opinion after the fact. It was stated long previously to the battle, and the result of this battle was predicted before the account of it was received.

In reply to the question, why was this battle fought? the following answer may be given. The soldiers and militia officers were anxious to be led against the enemy. "They came to fight, and were tired of digging." Some of the more experienced officers were also anxious for a move. Members of Congress and members of the cabinet had become impatient, added to which the press throughout America was calling for action, and the English press also. There is no denying the statement. This state of things was commented upon by me in print some time since, and this result of the universal clamour for a fight was fully predicted. General Scott at last yielded to the universal pressure, against his better judgment, hoping, no doubt, that the enthusiasm of the troops would make up for other deficiencies, and fearing perhaps that it might not continue. Moreover, he probably was deceived by sham deserters in the strength of the enemy. He has since stated to the President, that he (himself) ought to be removed from the command for yielding.

The secondary causes of the loss of the battle were—1st, the rebels had, no doubt by traitorous means, been made acquainted with General McDowell's intended plan of action, and were thereby enabled to anticipate and to some extent to thwart his movements. 2nd, Bad management in precipitating the fight, whereby not more than one half the troops were brought into action. And 3rd, the arrival of the troops under General Johnstone, which should have been

kept in check by General Patterson. The damage done also by the civilians, who to the number of one thousand or more accompanied the army, was very great. They fled on the first approach of danger, possibly inaugurating the panic, and on arriving in Washington circulated the most extravagant and absurd reports to screen themselves from their unpardonable conduct. Their reports were flashed through the country upon the wires, and transmitted abroad, inflicting for the time unmerited disgrace, and doing a vast deal of mischief. It is to be presumed that for the future the presence of civilians on the field of battle will not be allowed.

It is said that France will now acknowledge the Confederates, and that England will follow the example. It is not to be believed. Neither Government will so far outrage the feelings of its own people, as to assist in building up a power which makes slavery avowedly the basis of its government, which is established solely with a view to the opening of the African slave trade, and extending and perpetuating slavery. Such a thing is not possible, unless the whole of the anti-slavery professions are a sham and a delusion.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 10th, 1861.

THE following by the same writer, was inserted as a leader in the LONDON AMERICAN.

THE BATTLE OF THE 21ST JULY.

THE great question is not why the Union troops were defeated, but why the battle was fought at all? General Beauregard, educated at West Point, and acknowledged to be a skilful engineer, had selected Manassas Junction as a place combining many natural advantages for defence,

had been engaged for more than two months, assisted as it is stated, by about ten thousand negroes, in throwing up earthworks, erecting batteries, and in putting the position in a complete state of security. He had manned it, according to statements made by Unionists prior to the battle—which statements have since been confirmed—with sixty thousand men. He had another large body at Richmond, within railway call, and a reserve of twenty-five thousand under Johnston, on the Harper's Ferry side. The place should have been nearly impregnable except to a regular siege, or, at any rate, capable of resisting an attack from three times the number of its defenders. General Todleben would have held it against the assaults of one hundred thousand of the best troops of France and England. General Jackson, at New Orleans, with less than five thousand men of a similar description and like military experience to those under Beauregard, defended barricades *improvised at the moment* from cotton bags, against the assaults of twelve thousand of the best troops that ever engaged an enemy—the Duke of Wellington's men from the Peninsula—beating them back, utterly routing them, and killing and putting *hors de combat* more than three thousand. And here, these poor fellows, the most of whom had never seen a battle, and many of whom had but just been mustered into the service, were launched against much stronger defences, held by an army far out numbering their own! They behaved nobly and fought bravely, driving the enemy before them at every point until overwhelmed at the critical moment, by the troops under Johnston. It was a Blucher and Grouchy affair on a smaller scale.

That there was no hard fighting, as is asserted by the *Times*' "special," is not in accordance with the reports of either party. He admits that *he* turned at the first show of danger and fled with the other civilians pell-mell, ingloriously from the field, assisting the panic. Very likely he was one of those who helped to inaugurate it; at any rate he admits that he did not stay his flight until he was safe in Washington. Being with the civilians who hung upon the rear of the

army he can have no knowledge of what took place in front, and is not justified in asserting that the struggle was not a severe one. General Beauregard admits the loss of five generals and two thousand troops among the killed. This loss was not sustained without hard fighting, and General Beauregard's antecedents do not exhibit a propensity to overrate his losses. Why should he do so? At Charleston he denied having lost a man. The *Times* has asserted that *understating losses* is an American trick; if so why should it not hold as good in this instance as in any other? The fact is, there was a desperate struggle, with abundant proof of individual courage, self-devotion, of personal intrepidity, and the Americans should raise a monument to those noble fellows who offered up their lives in defence of the patrimony received from Heaven by the hands of Washington and the other heroes of the Revolution.

This movement against Manassa Junction should never have been made with less than one hundred and fifty thousand men. This is not simply an opinion after the fact. It was stated previously, and the result of the battle predicted before known here.

In answer to the question with which we started, the causes of the movement appear to us to be as follows, viz.: The soldiers and militia officers were anxious to be led against the enemy. "They came to fight and were tired of digging trenches." Some of the experienced officers were also favourable to "a forward movement." Members of Congress, Members of the Cabinet, all were getting tired of inactivity; added to which the most influential portion of the press throughout the United States, aided by some of our English contemporaries, was clamorous for a fight. The continual cry was "forward to Richmond;" and General Scott at last yielded to the pressure, against his better judgment, hoping no doubt, that the enthusiasm of the soldiers would atone for their deficiencies, and fearing perhaps, that this enthusiasm might abate if longer checked. He has since declared to the President that he is "the greatest coward in the army, and ought to be removed for surrendering

his own opinion of duty in such a crisis, to popular clamour, induced by threats in Congress and daily newspaper harangues."

The *accessory* causes of the loss of the battle (it never ought to have been won by the Unionists) were first, the rebels had been by traitorous means, to which the Unionists were and are still in a great measure exposed, made acquainted with General McDowell's plan of action, and were therefore able to anticipate and thwart his movements to a very large extent: second, bad management in precipitating the action, and not bringing more than half the troops into battle; and third, the arrival of the fresh columns under Johnston when the Unionists were wearied out with the long march and the protracted contest. The damage occasioned by the presence of civilians was also very considerable. They fled on the first appearance of real danger, adding to the confusion of the retreat, and arriving in Washington, they spread the most exaggerated reports to screen their own want of courage. It is to be hoped that this expensive lesson will be the means of keeping civilians of all grades, newspaper correspondents included, without the lines.

It is asserted by some whom the panic has reached on this side the water, that France will now acknowledge the "Confederates" as a Government, and that England will follow the example. We have no fears of such an issue. Neither Government will so far outrage the sympathies and good sense of its own people as to assist in establishing a power based, according to its own unblushing declarations, on slavery; of which human servitude is the corner stone, and the extending and perpetuation of it, by the re-opening of the African slave trade, its main objects. We look upon such a recognition as an utter impossibility; but should it by any unaccountable means occur, it would be an evidence beyond all possible dispute that the anti-slavery professions of both countries have only been a sham and delusion, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WHEN your correspondent, “A Virginian,” in reply to my remarks in reference to the assertion that “the South received no aid from the North in the war of the Revolution, but accomplished its own independence,” classes it among the exaggerations that parties resort to in sensation articles, he simply confirms my statement that it was a monstrous misrepresentation; and as I have shown, from official records, that the whole of the seceded States furnished, in round numbers, but 28,000 troops to the war, while the other States supplied 203,000, your readers will no doubt agree with him and me, and consequently my object in correcting the misrepresentation is attained.

In reference to my remarks incidental to the primary question, your correspondent does not deny my assertion that “bowie-knives and revolvers are seldom seen in use in the North,” but affirms that their use in the South is also rare. This is a matter for congratulation, for while I promptly contradicted the absurd story about a Georgia railroad, which appeared in the *Times* about three years ago, showing that there was on the face of it abundant evidence of its falsity, I had supposed there was some truth in the many reports in the English papers of the frequent use of the weapons in personal rencontres in the Southern States.

In respect to the mendacity of the Southern press, I made no allusion to its course during the last “quarter of a century,” but simply to it during the period of this rebellion, while completely under the dictation of the rebel leaders. It is notorious that during this period it has misrepresented and vilified the North in the most atrocious manner, deceiving and misleading its readers upon all the great questions agitating the nation. Dr. Breckenridge, uncle to the late pro-slavery candidate for the Presidency,

born and bred and always residing in a Slave State, and represented to be a highly-respected minister of the Gospel, has stated in a discourse lately published, that if the people could be properly informed, and could give a free vote, there would be found even now, a majority in the seceded States, in favour of the Union.

Your correspondent asks if "any paper can be found at the South that will bear any comparison in infamy to the *New York Herald*?" My reply is perhaps not. The *Herald* has been from the first one of the worst Secession papers. When the people were aroused by the attack on Fort Sumpter, and threatened to pull down its building, it turned completely round, but with the design to damage the Union cause more by its seeming support than it possibly could by its opposition. As your correspondent says, it has declared that "the North will send 300,000 soldiers to devastate the South with fire and sword." This is done for no other purpose than to damage the North, and is but a sample of its declarations, which are thoroughly and notoriously opposed to the views of the North. It recommended, in its jesuitical hypocrisy, the North and South to shake hands, and by way of cementing the reconciliation to invade Canada with 250,000 men; and the *Times* and *Punch*, and other English papers, have had the extreme silliness and disregard of truth to represent this as an American intention and the expression of American feeling.

In respect to my other assertions—say, first, that labour is held in the South to be only for slaves; secondly, that there is no class in the North answering to the class styled in the South "mean whites;" and thirdly, that there is no class in the South answering to that which comes under the poetic description of "a bold peasantry, a country's pride"—I have to say that I must re-affirm them, with perhaps some slight modifications.

And first: At the North labour is held to be honourable, and while exercised in an honourable and laudable manner, as giving dignity and respectability to man. In the Slave States it may not be considered disreputable—that possibly

is too strong a word—but to labour with the hands for a livelihood lowers a man's position in society instead of elevating it. So general is this feeling that the blacks even are said to look upon the whites who perform daily labour with contempt. That the "blacks were created to work for and be slaves to the whites," is one of the fundamental articles in the creed of the Confederates.

Second: That there are individuals in the North answering to the class called "mean whites" in the South, need not be denied; but there is throughout the country no such class there. These individuals are to be found in the large cities—perhaps more particularly in New York. The emigrants arriving at that port have averaged as many as 800 per day the year round, added to which there are often as many as from 70,000 to 80,000 visitors in the city. Here then are the elements of dissipation, pauperism, and disorder. It redounds greatly to the credit of the New York people that they have been able to receive, dispose of, provide for, and absorb this immense tide of immigration without material derangement to their social system. How it has been accomplished is an enigma in political economy.

And third: Throughout the North nine-tenths of the soil is held in freehold by its occupiers, and cultivated by them and their sons with their own hands. No other nation can show a like occupancy to so great an extent. The Slave States have no such class except in some of the anti-slavery portions of the border States; nor, from the nature of things, can they have while slavery rules. While "a bold peasantry, a country's pride," give significant strength and beauty to poetry, in the North it is a practical fact which strengthens and ennobles the nation, and gives to it a conservatism and durability which no combination of events can ever neutralise or destroy.

Finally, no one questions the bravery and gallantry of the Southern gentry, but to speak of their fighting for homes and families is a prostitution of terms. The Secession leaders acknowledge that the American Government "is the best in existence." The constitution which they have

adopted is nearly a copy of that of the United States with the exception of its bearing upon slavery. They had not one single grievance to complain of, except in the fact that, in accordance with immutable laws, free labour would eventually force out slave labour, unless a barrier could be raised to its progress, and unless slavery could be extended into new territories. Their wisest and best legislators, Washington, Jefferson, Clay, &c., had foreseen this, and hoped for it, and the national good and the instincts of humanity demanded it; but the profit of growing cotton, and the hope of individual power, overcame all other feelings, and they have wantonly and wickedly, and with a recklessness of which history offers no other example, attempted to break up the Government, to divide the nation, and to establish upon its ruins a confederation, possibly a despotism, based upon slavery, and with and for the express and acknowledged purpose of opening the African slave trade and of extending and perpetuating slavery—this infamous blot upon a Christian people.

There was a time when to be "A Virginian" was to have a passport to all the hospitalities of the North. It is to be hoped this may again be seen. There are even now a vast many good and true men in the old dominion, but as sure as the name of Washington is to be imperishable in the annals of America, so sure will the names of the leaders in this most foul, this most wicked rebellion, be handed down in infamy to the latest posterity.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 20th, 1861.

THE AMERICAN WAR.—REASONS FOR THANKFULNESS.

From the LONDON AMERICAN, of August 21, 1861, communicated by the same.

THE *New York Evening Post* in a very proper spirit of gratitude, thus sums up the reasons which the Americans have for thankfulness.

“First—We have mustered thousands upon thousands of troops into service, and have transported them thousands of miles by sea and land, without a single accident or mishap. The loss of a dozen lives through accidental gun shots, and through other instances of individual carelessness, would represent the total amount of casualties.

“Secondly—There has been no epidemic nor any sickness in the army of consequence, notwithstanding the troops have been operating in a hot climate, and during the hot season, and often in places peculiarly subject to fever.

“Thirdly—In all the encounters with the enemy, save those at Big Bethel, and Bull’s Run, the advantages have been greatly on our side. In the rapid and vigorous marches of Lyon and Seigel in Missouri, in the splendid movements and victories of McClellan in Western Virginia, in fact in all the encounters up to the panic at Bull’s Run, our reverses have been few, our successes decided. We cannot recall a solitary instance in which the valour of our troops has not proved equal to the occasion. We have lost some valuable officers and men, but the enemy has lost two-fold more than we, and ten times more in proportion to ability to lose, and while our expenditure is from a full treasury, the enemy’s is from an exhausted one.

“Fourthly—There are reasons for thankfulness even in the disaster at Bull’s Run. Had Beauregard been as good a general as he is an engineer, he would have permitted our army to advance, and then have surrounded it and compelled its surrender. As it is, the army is almost intact; it has gained valuable experience; the Government has found out its deficiencies and will remedy them. Our almost insane confidence in ourselves has been chastised. The public press and our politicians have agreed to vacate the office of military dictators. We have learned the necessity of rigid enforcement of military rule, and of more energetic action on all hands; the spirit of the people is animated by the check we have had, and it is to be hoped our adversity is giving us wisdom. When it is recollected that England with all its military preparation, its supply of

experienced officers and experienced soldiers, has hardly ever entered upon a war, without serious mistakes and disasters at the outset, we have no reason to expect to escape them, especially as our army and officers and our preparations were to be, to a great extent, *improvised* on the moment."

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN '76 AND '61.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE *Times* offers to advise the American Government. Its services cannot be accepted. In the first place it has shown itself a decided partisan, in the second place it has shown itself profoundly ignorant on the questions now agitating the American Republic on which it would arbitrate, and finally, the extreme mendacity which it has exhibited in its arguments on American affairs, would, if there were no other cause, totally disqualify it for the proposed office.

The *Times* would "advise the United States to accept the situation, as George the Third did, eighty years ago; to practise what they preach, to acknowledge the independence of the rebels, as Great Britain acknowledged theirs." The *Times* would represent and endeavour to make its readers believe that the two cases are analogous, whereas it knows full well that there is not the slightest similarity between them. Were the English lords to revolt against the Crown and the Commons, and endeavour by means of paid retainers to re-establish the feudal system, the case would resemble this in foolishness and wickedness; or should Yorkshire and Lancashire rebel and demand to be acknowledged as a separate State in order that they might open the slave trade and establish slavery, the case would be somewhat analogous, though not so impracticable nor so scandalous; but between the

revolution of 1776 and this slavery rebellion there is not any resemblance.

The separation of powerful colonies from the mother country, situated at a distance of three thousand miles, was in the natural order of events. It was simply a question of time. The revolution did but anticipate it a few years. It involved no sacrifice of principle. It promised to benefit both parties, and experience has realised the fulfilment of the promise.

The Colonies had real grievances to complain of, that even British statesmen acknowledged. Mr. Burke never made his famous declaration in that respect without good grounds. They petitioned the Crown, time after time, with the earnestness of loyal subjects as they were, and it was not until all their efforts were repulsed, and their citizens shot down by the King's troops, that they took up arms in their own defence. Then, the rebellion was nearly universal.

Now, in respect to the rebel States, nature has not designed them for a distinct nation; on the contrary, they are in their geographical position so interwoven with other portions of the Union, that continuous wars would seem to be the natural result of a separation. The rebel States hold the mouths of the great rivers which traverse territories, forming their only outlet to the sea, that will, before some who are now living have closed their earthly career, contain fifty millions of freemen, and the territories from which these rebel States were formed, which so command this outlet, were purchased from France and Spain (and paid for mainly by the money of the North) for the express purpose of securing to this great interior basin this outlet, with free egress to the ocean for ever.

In respect to a cause for rebellion, the rebels have not a single grievance. Their leaders declare that the United States' Government "has been the best that ever existed." The Slave States have, through their slave representation, which has given them on the average twenty members in addition to their proper number, controlled for a period of seventy-five

years, nearly every question affecting their own interests, and consequently they have been under their own rule. They have neither petitioned nor asked to be allowed to go out of the Union, but have asserted their constitutional right to go, a device however, to allure their own people; and have separated from the Union by force, taking with them all the property of the nation that they could lay their hands upon.

They have seized the ships, the forts, the arsenals, and have stolen the Government money. They have made war upon the Government troops; they have put to death, or banished, or placed in bodily fear, their own citizens who have manifested Union sentiments; they have raised armies, crushed out liberty, and established a military despotism; and before the Federal Government had lifted a finger against them, they had threatened, and unquestionably intended to attack and occupy Washington, and also more northern cities. Such was the forbearance and long-suffering of the Government, that the *Times*, for a considerable period, could see nothing but "the utter disruption and destruction of the Government, owing to its inherent weakness and pusillanimity," and, according to its own account and that of its special correspondent, to the utter want of patriotism on the part of the Northerners, who cared for nothing but trading and making dollars.

Above all, the acknowledgment of the rebel States differs from that of the thirteen colonies, in its *involving a sacrifice of principle, that no nation could or ought to survive*, and in its being an act shocking to humanity. The sole cause of the rebellion is the prospective determination of the Free States not to permit the further extension of slavery, and its avowed purpose is to establish a Government based on slavery; to extend and perpetuate slavery throughout the whole Southern region of North America, embracing a territory about forty times larger than England; and to open the African slave trade.

The *Times* says, "All the overtures from the rebel States for compromise and peace have been rejected." This state-

ment is not true. The great fault of the Free States has been that of yielding too much, and for that, the *Times* on other occasions, reproaches them. One fact will show that the rebels were determined to break up the Union at all hazards, and that no terms of compromise or peace were asked, or would have been accepted. When the State of Virginia attempted to intercede, the rebel Government at Montgomery returned for answer, "if the North would send them a sheet of blank paper to be filled by themselves with their own terms, they would not remain in the Union." Moreover the case of the rebel States differs from that of the thirteen colonies in the circumstance of a large portion of their people (some say a majority if relieved from coercion) are opposed to the rebellion and in favour of the Union; these the Government is bound to defend—to desert them would be an act of baseness and cowardice.

Thus it is shown that the two cases which the *Times* would represent as nearly identical, are totally dissimilar. Were there however, no other reason than that of the intention of establishing a slave power, it would in itself be sufficient to prevent the Northern States from agreeing to a separation. The *Times* counsels the American Government to lead off in this base act of acknowledgment in order that England may follow. It *blinks* this question of slavery, and has the insufferable conceit to suppose that it can so satisfy its readers and the British public, as to neutralise the anti-slavery sentiment, and cause the people to become aiders and abettors of this monstrous wickedness! to assist in establishing this slave power! America is not going to stoop to this ignominy, and the people of Great Britain as the *Times* will presently learn, will scatter its miserable sophistry to the winds.

The acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies was, as has been already stated, a necessity, and the countenance it extended to slavery in no way, at that time, compromised the Government nor public opinion. Slavery had been introduced, fostered, and confirmed with the con-

sent and approbation of the mother country. It had become a fixed institution. Some attempts had been made in England in 1727 and 1765, to abolish the African slave trade; but it was not until several years after the war of independence that Clarkson commenced his crusade against it, nor until four-and-twenty years after that the trade was abolished, nor until a quarter of a century still later, that the slaves in the West India colonies were emancipated; therefore the existence of slavery in the North American colonies, formed no ground of objection by any one to their acknowledgment as an independent nation.

The case in respect to acknowledging a slave power now is altogether different. Public feeling has declared itself decidedly opposed to slavery; Great Britain has spent large sums in emancipating slaves—it is annually sacrificing the lives of its people and incurring heavy charges in order to put an end to the slave trade; and that *slavery must cease*, is becoming a religious conviction. With this feeling, which is strong also in France, but much stronger in the Northern States of America, neither England, nor France, nor the United States, could acknowledge a Government founded upon slavery and instituted for the purpose of extending and perpetuating it, without entailing upon itself never-ending infamy.

The anti-slavery sentiment in America, has been strengthening for a period of seventy-five years. At the period of the revolution, slavery was accepted as an inevitable necessity, but in the full expectation by the revolutionary fathers, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, &c., and the people generally, that time and circumstances would uproot it. That expectation has not been realised; but much has been accomplished in the right direction. The African slave trade has been abolished, and some little time before its abolition by England. Six out of the twelve States which held slaves have emancipated them. Slavery has been refused admission into free territories; twelve free States have been added to the Union, and although the opposition to creating slave States out of territory set off from previously existing

slave States, or purchased from France or Spain, has been unsuccessful, yet the anti-slavery party had succeeded in attaining a position, which would enable it to prevent any further extension; but just at this period, just at this moment, when after this long uphill contest it had got slavery in its gripe, does this leading journal of Europe—this pretended upholder of anti-slavery sentiment—come to the rescue of the vanquished dealer in human flesh, and counsel the American Government to give slavery a new lease by acknowledging this rebel slave power, and by implication, counsels the Government of Great Britain to do the same. The *Times* with all its influence, comes to the aid of this rebellion, and recommends the two leading Christian powers of the world—the two nations destined to carry civilization and Christianity to the uttermost parts of the earth—to set up this slave power, to bow down to the idol, to give the right hand of fellowship to it, and to elevate it into a position amongst the most honoured nations of the earth.

The *Times* in its shift to find some excuse for such conduct, would contend that the North has been a party to, and has upheld slavery in the United States, and would continue to do so were the rebellion put down. The North was compelled, as has been already stated, to recognise its existence by the same inevitable necessity that caused the Crown of Great Britain to countenance it in the acknowledgment of the independence. The institution existed; society had become familiar with it; the feelings of many had become adapted to it, and the anti-slave party had no other course than that afterwards adopted by the pioneers in the cause of emancipation in England (Clarkson, Wilberforce, and their coadjutors); viz., that of gradually acting upon public opinion until the anti-slave sentiment should become sufficiently universal to demand emancipation. The progress of opinion in the States had been moderately satisfactory. The anti-slavery sentiment is vastly stronger now in the North than it is in England, and there is ten times more said, and spoken, and written, there, day by day, week by week, month by month,

and year by year, than there is in England. These continuous efforts, combined with the gradual action of free labour, would ere this have accomplished the desired object, but for the English demand for cotton. At the period of independence the cultivation of cotton was unknown in the States. The plant was introduced years after, and it is a remarkable circumstance, taken in connection with the pretended advocacy of free trade by the cotton States, that the first protective duty the American Government ever granted, was upon imported cotton, to encourage the home growth.

When the *Times*, and other leading papers, advocate, at this late day in the battle against slavery, the creation of a slave power more formidable and efficient to its object than Spain and Portugal ever were, and when this course appears to be applauded by great numbers, it may well be doubted whether the anti-slavery feeling in Great Britain is widespread. If it be widespread—if it be general—if the *Times* and the people of Great Britain really wish to see the institution abolished at once and for ever, it is but for them to will it, and the thing is done. Let it be proclaimed that after three years from the day of the next meeting of Parliament, not a pound of slave-grown cotton, slave-grown sugar, or slave-grown tobacco should be admitted into any port of Great Britain and Ireland, and slavery will soon be known only in history.

And why should not this course be taken? Would it be wrong in any respect? Is there danger that it would act injuriously upon the slave, or that it would be unjust towards the master? Is there danger that it would prevent adequate supplies of these articles or interfere with the employment of labour, and on the whole do more harm than good? Probably none of these questions can be answered in the affirmative. Then why not make the trial, and at once and for ever get rid of this foul blot upon a Christian world? this fruitful cause of quarrels, wars, vice, oppression, and misery! When men and nations are true to principle, this will be done.

As to the American Government, it has a duty to perform to itself, to its loyal subjects in the South (now over-ridden by a military despotism), to its adopted citizens who have made its shores their home, to the world at large, which is looking to it as a mainstay of representative government, and an upholder of the rights of man ; to the African race, to whom it owes large restitution for wrongs inflicted, and above all to the great Giver of its glorious patrimony ; and this duty the Government and the people mean to perform, come weal, come woe—despite rebel writers amongst themselves, despite the sneers the scoffs and the hypocritical advice of foreign journalists, and despite any and every other circumstance. And although climate and distance and unsuspected treason may delay and thwart them from time to time in the fulfilment of their purpose, it will be eventually accomplished. The people will spend their money like dross ; they will spill their blood like water ; and although it may require years and years to effect the object, they will never hesitate nor falter until they have fulfilled the great work they are called upon to do. And now let the *Times* take a little advice—let it accept this as a “fixed fact,” and let it use its great talents as it did in establishing its position, in a plain, nervous, straightforward, honest course of argument, eschewing sophistry, chicanery, and above all, double-dealing and untruthfulness, and then it may possibly attain to the position which the people of England seem desirous to accord to it—that of being the first journal in Europe.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 31st, 1861.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—It is stated in the *Daily Post* of yesterday that Virginians and South Carolinians say, “Northern soldiers never fought our battles ; during the war of independence they rendered the South no aid,” &c., &c. This quotation I have no doubt is erroneous, for notwithstanding the astounding mendacity of the pro-slavery press since the rebellion broke out, it would hardly venture to make an assertion so notoriously untrue. The remark refers to the war of 1812, made by the South against England in opposition to the wishes of the North, and to which the latter for a period afforded reluctant aid ; but nevertheless, nearly the whole of the fighting men, except in the battle of New Orleans, and in the disgraceful defence of Washington, were drawn from the free States.

In the war of Independence, the number of soldiers supplied by all the States was 230,909. Of these the present cotton States furnished but 9,144!—(Georgia furnishing 2,697 and South Carolina 6,447)—while Massachusetts, the only free State at that time, furnished 67,977. The whole of the present rebel States furnished but 28,844! These are historical facts which no amount of vituperative assertion can wipe out.

South Carolina was twice wrested from the royalists. The second time (when it had almost without a struggle relapsed into the arms of royalty) by a Northern General, *Greene*, and by the aid of Northern troops. Indeed, it was only the other day that the South Carolinians pretended to the *Times*’ correspondent, ~~that~~ they had been freed from the benign rule of their paternal King, almost against their consent, and were even now desirous to have a scion of the Guelphs to reign over

them ! No one well informed on the subject believed it, but it is a fit rejoinder to the absurd assertion that they accomplished their own independence.

It is quite true that the anti-slavery people, who hold *labour* to be honourable, in opposition to the pro-slavery heresy that it is *only for slaves*, are more given to the ways which make for peace than those which make for war. One may live among them for years without seeing a bowie knife or a revolver in use ; but when called upon to defend their country they make most reliable soldiers, quite as good as ever England or Scotland turned out.

The South is composed of three classes—say the planters, call them the landed gentry if you will. These have sought the army and navy and the business of legislation ; they made the war against Great Britain of 1812, and the war against Mexico, and have been the instigators of the filibustering, and the so-called offensively pugnacious acts exhibited by the Government during the last thirty years towards other nations. Secondly, the merchants and tradesmen, who are much on a par with the same class North, being, however, less industrious and more belligerent ; and, thirdly, the “mean” whites. To these the North has no corresponding class. They are constantly on the market, ready for anything the “*chivalry*” may bid them do ; but they have not stood the charges of the Northern troops in any one instance in the present war, unless under cover, and well protected by batteries. The affairs of Centre-ville and Big Bethel were simply the unmasking of cannon upon exposed men, and that of Mannassas was little better. At any rate, the Southerners in the latter instance were placed in the position in which militia and raw troops will fight if at all : while the Union men were placed just in the position in which militia and raw troops are *least likely* to fight ; not from want of personal bravery, but from the want of that reliance upon each **other** which experience alone gives, securing what **is so** necessary, viz., unity of action. The South has not **the** class, “a bold peasantry, a country’s pride,” which gives strength

to a nation, nor will it ever have, while slavery exists there.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 14th, 1861.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROTESTATIONS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—It is stated in the *Daily Post* of this day that “the English press and the public opinion of the country seconded Mr. Lincoln until his practice entirely gave the lie to his protestations. While he confined himself to declaring his intention of maintaining the Union by all possible constitutional means, the public voice emphatically condemned the few members of the House of Commons who exulted over the supposed bursting of the Republican bubble. But when the animus of the North manifested itself to be simply a thirst for vengeance at any cost, it was no longer to be supposed that English sympathies should be blindly enlisted on that side, simply because abolition, never put forward at the outset, might perchance be worked out as an afterthought, and by means of a servile insurrection promoted from Washington. . . . While in a state of civil war, we hold the South and the North morally as equally deserving condemnation.”

My respect for the conductors of the *Daily Post* forbids my characterising these remarks as it appears to me they deserve. I will therefore confine myself simply to counter assertions, and,

1st.—President Lincoln's practice has from the first been entirely and thoroughly consistent with his protestations.

2nd.—He has confined himself strictly within the rule of maintaining the Union by constitutional means.

3rd.—It was honourable in the public to condemn the

members of the House of Commons who declared that the bubble had burst; but it was so perfectly obvious that the question of the American institutions (save that of slavery) had not been brought up in any respect, that no one with one grain of sense could have joined in with them.

4th.—The animus of the North has not in any one respect, in any one single solitary instance, manifested itself to be a thirst for vengeance, nor for anything else whatever than an endeavour to restore the Union and peace and prosperity under the constitution, with equal rights to all.

5th.—English sympathies are not asked for, because this contest may work out emancipation. All that is asked of England is to do justice to itself, and not, while professing to oppose slavery, to lend a helping hand in the establishment of a slave power thrice more accursed than has ever before existed.

6th.—The Government at Washington has, up to the present time, taken no steps to promote a servile war. While it is spending the blood and treasures of its subjects in putting down the rebellion, it has not lifted a finger for that purpose, although by so doing the rebellion could be crushed at once.

7th.—In respect to the South and the North being *equally morally wrong*, the South has inaugurated and established a *wicked and infamous rebellion*—so wicked and infamous that there are not words in the English language that will fully describe its enormity; while the North is engaged *in a just and holy* endeavour to sustain its Government, its nationality, its down-trodden brethren in the rebel States, and to prevent the spread of slavery; a cause as just as Great Britain was ever engaged in. The truth of all these statements I undertake to uphold and establish against any one.

It is further said in the *Post*, "Mr. Adams has done some mischief in making his Government believe ~~that~~ the Cabinet of St. James is in a hurry to recognise the **Confederate** Government." This is a mistake, Mr. Adams ~~has~~ made no such representation. The report to that effect was positively

contradicted in the New York papers received a week since, and as positively contradicted in the London papers of last week ; and it is stated in the *Post* of to-day, from Washington, that "the department there had received information from Mr. Adams that in his opinion the British Government did not contemplate any change of position so long as the blockade continued."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 18th, 1861.

THE *TIMES* AND OUR AMERICAN COUSINS.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE *Times* finds its "American Cousins" most ungrateful. It admonishes, it advises, and directs, but gets little attention, and no thanks : indeed they appear to partake of the nature of the animal known for its pertinacity in going the opposite way to which it is pulled. But the *Times* is fertile in resources : if pulling and kicking and cuffing do not answer, it tries the effect of its blandishments ; it is never daunted ; the greater its miscarriages, the more dogmatically it advances fresh theories. In admiring its courage, one is inclined to lament that it is always in the wrong.

Not having in the first instance satisfied the Americans that their bubble had burst, that their Government was tumbling to pieces, that it had no power, their States no cohesion, and they no patriotism, and consequently that they had better give in at once, and submit to whatever conditions rebellion might choose to impose upon them : not having, in the second instance, satisfied them that voting men by the million, and money by the hundreds of millions, was simply absurd ; that they were paying too dear

for their whistle; that at the best they were but fighting for territory not worth having, and of which they already had too much, and that they had better leave the lands to slavery and cotton growing; that volunteering did not make soldiers—for that their Democratic citizen soldiers would never submit to the restraints required by war: not having, in the third instance, satisfied them that their prompt submission to the requirements of the position, their exact discipline in camp when the necessity arose, their stoppage of communication with rebels, their adoption of a passport system, their suppression of seditious publications, their call on the Government to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and also their demand on the Government to proclaim "martial law" should it be found necessary; after having failed to convince them that these were not evidences of the willingness of a Democracy to submit to rule in the support of its own rights, but on the contrary, were certain proofs of its inevitable tendency to lapse into the worst vices of the most conservative despot; after having failed in all these things, after all its reasoning, its prognostications, its sophisms and subtleties have been exposed and set at naught by the practical action of the people; after its entire failure to induce them to forfeit every honourable characteristic, and to give up without a blow what Washington has been almost sainted by the English themselves for upholding, defending, and handing down to them, it comes forward coolly and blandly, like a physician that had not heard of the case before, and propounds a fresh theory, and with as much confidence and dogmatism as though it had always been in the right, and not always in the wrong; and compassionately overlooking the failings of the Americans, their want of patriotism at times, and its superabundance at others; their proneness to think of nothing but making dollars at one time, and to part with their money for no value at another; their want of submission to rule at one period, and their tendency to place all power in the hands of their rulers at another; it comes forward and consoles them with the assurance that the secessions to which they

are subject, the divisions and subdivisions to which they are hastening, *come from a law of nature* which has been in force from the beginning, and will continue to operate through all time; implying that cohesion and unity are not the fruits of good government; that the growth of Christianity, the cultivation of the arts and sciences, the establishment of steam boats, railways, the penny post, and the electric telegraph, do not tend to bind communities together in brotherly love, but on the contrary, tend to divide and disintegrate them, and that Americans must submit to natural laws, must be broken up and divided, and consequently may spare themselves the trouble of fighting against fate.

The *Times* gives no examples to fortify its theory, save that of "Europe not forming one kingdom." It is apparently satisfied with its own high behest. Had it given examples it probably would have been something in this fashion. "It is well known to the world at large that in days of yore, China, comprising a territory of thirteen hundred thousand square miles, formed one compact kingdom under Imperial sway, and that at the present time it is broken up into a thousand little sections, ruled over by petty pigtailed despots. That Russia, also, with its two millions of square miles of territory, passed through the same ordeal, civilization there doing its work. Instead of acknowledging one rule, one autocrat of all the Russias, as was once the case, every petty province has its prince, claiming for himself and his people independency. As for our own happy islands, every school-boy knows that when the rude and barbarous Saxons conquered the land, they formed the whole of Great Britain and Ireland into one happy and united kingdom, and that at one time since that period, this favoured kingdom, including all the regions of the northern part of North America, embracing 1,800,000 square miles, many of the West India islands, all Australasia, and India with its 200 millions of people, were bound together as one, owning one Imperial sway, and guided at will by the hand of a woman; but that now through nature's laws which are ever unerring,

we see this magnificent empire disintegrated, England itself a heptarchy, and Scotland, Wales, and Ireland under chieftains and princes innumerable. If these examples of inevitable destiny are not sufficient for the 'American Cousins,' let them look at home and read their own fate in that of their progenitors. At the period of the discovery by Columbus the territory now called the United States, embracing nearly two millions of square miles, was ruled over by one Indian Sachem; there was but one community—universal brotherly love pervaded the nation. But now how changed! the whole split up into a thousand tribes, each subsisting for itself, and making war upon its neighbour. Indeed without these striking examples the case would be plain, for our divines and philanthropists teach that, before the establishment of the millenium on earth, all nations must be split into ten thousand factions, every man seeking his own good and eschewing that of his neighbour; that society is not to be Christianised and toned down to meet the coming advent, but that everything is to be found in confusion and wickedness."

The *Times* must have reasoned thus: it is a pity that so much invention, and so much ingenuity, and such logical deductions should be wasted upon an ungrateful people—upon a people who have the folly to consider their Union, their constitution, their nationality worth contending for. "A people who have accepted war as a dire necessity; who feel that between the Union and the Confederacy it is a question of life and death; who know that they must maintain their government or lose their freedom; that the prosperity, the happy industry, the rich civilization, and their splendid historical traditions must now be supported or go down under a military despotism as malignant as ever prostrated humanity; who feel *that the same bayonet which destroys their present government will dictate the next*; that the iron hand which now crushes the border States, will, if submitted to, fall with reckless severity upon the rest of the Union; that proud, imperious, insolent taskmasters will become the rulers of a once free people; and the happy

structure of political freedom, under which they have lived three-fourths of a century, will make place for the mechanism of a terrible and accursed arbitrary power."

The *Times* however, must not be discouraged, even if all its attempts to sustain rebellion and to build up a slave power appear to be unsuccessful; it should not be discouraged though all its arguments to induce a brave and free people, as brave, as high-minded, as honourable as any that ever trod the soil of Britain, to disgrace themselves, to forfeit their freedom, their manhood, their duty to man, and to God, should appear to fail. Let it try again and again, peradventure it may at last succeed; for if the Prince of Darkness is at some time to have sway on earth for a period, who can say that this pro-slavery rebellion, if well bolstered up, may not be the commencement of the reign, and that the *Times* may not become its leading journal?

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 21st, 1861.



RUSSIA VERSUS ENGLAND.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE gratification shown by the Americans on receiving the friendly message from the Emperor of Russia, condoling with the Government in the time of its tribulation, is suggestive of the reception and effect that a similar document from the Government of Great Britain would have had.

The Americans desire no aid; but sympathy in a cause which they regard as sacred, is particularly acceptable. They are keenly alive to kindness, and are, perhaps, too resentful of supposed acts of injustice, when done by a government and a people to which they are attached by nearly

every tie that can bind two nations together. Notwithstanding the bitter articles which have appeared at various periods in their newspapers, a strong feeling of respect and attachment for the "old country" has always pervaded the community. Those articles have been sometimes provoked by culpable attacks of the English press; sometimes written for local political purposes, and at others, for the venal purpose of selling papers, while only in very marked cases could they be relied on as expressing the general sentiment.

When the Canadians rebelled, much sympathy in their cause was felt by the Americans on their borders. They were neighbours and friends, and some were from the same districts in the old countries, but the Government took prompt steps to prevent aid being rendered, and sent General Scott, the Commander-in-chief, to secure non-intervention. The Government did not step in and acknowledge them as "belligerents," but stood aloof maintaining a strict neutrality. Had there been any truth in the oft-repeated assertion that the Americans covet the possession of Canada, here was their opportunity for securing annexation; but the accusation was then, as it is now, a political falsehood. No quarrel will ever arise with England from a desire on their part for Canada; were even a peaceful annexation solicited by the Canadians to-morrow, it might probably be rejected.

When the East Indians rebelled, the interest taken in America in the proceedings to put down the rebellion was hardly less than in England. Indeed the interest taken by the masses there was *greater* than by the masses in England, and they were very much better informed on the subject. The tidings of the death of General Havelock thrilled through every heart, casting a gloom over all, and greater than would have been occasioned at that time, by the death of any one of their own people. The ships displayed their colours half-mast, and sadness was visible on every face.

When the Prince of Wales visited the country, he was received with universal enthusiasm; such a greeting as no

one ever had before—even the Queen in her own dominions never received such a welcome. It was not given from interested motives: no one had any favour to gain by it; it was not rendered to a Prince, because he was a Prince, but was an unmistakeable mark of respect and affection to Queen Victoria, and of good feeling towards the people of Great Britain.

The Americans, therefore, had a right to expect in their hour of tribulation some return. They could, however, dispense with it, though they might lament its absence; but when, instead of friendly condolence, or any manifestation of sympathy, the leading journal and many of the leading papers represented the bubble as burst, the Government to be falling to pieces, and their institutions, which for a period of seventy-five years had secured to the people liberty of conscience, liberty of action, unbounded freedom, protection and prosperity, to be a sham and a delusion; when the Government with an indecent haste (which it is charitable to suppose Lord Russell will ever regret), without waiting the arrival of the minister from Mr. Lincoln's Government known to be on the way; before the rebels had attained any position save that of thieves in stealing the Government stores; without any pressing necessity, either moral, political, or philosophical; and notwithstanding the rebels had announced their intention to extend and perpetuate slavery, and to make it the very corner-stone of their proposed edifice; *declared that these rebels would be treated as "belligerents,"* and that it had instructed the law officers of the crown to enquire into the legal propriety of acknowledging them to be a sovereign power; there was a burst of honest indignation highly becoming a brave and generous people; and if the American press hurled back upon its English antagonists and libellers of its country, a torrent of invective, they have but to recollect that they began the fight, and that those who strike the first blow have no right to complain of the severity of the return.

But here let justice be done to Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell, the Earl of Derby, and the British Parliament.

Since the period referred to, and the arrival of Mr. Adams, which was at about the same time, the course of the Government and of the Parliament toward America, so far as known to the public, has been unexceptionable, and highly praiseworthy; and it is believed that at the present time there is a good understanding between the two Governments.

The presentation of this message from the Emperor of all the Russias, is made the occasion for the revival of the oft-refuted tale of the rejection by President Lincoln of British arbitration. It is said that Baron Munchausen had told his stories so often, he at last had become a believer in them himself—and this appears to be the case with some of the retailers of this story. Mr. Lincoln never refused the friendly proffer because it was never made: Lord Russell justly considered, what the Emperor of Russia has so wisely determined, that it was not a case that admitted arbitration or mediation. The report alluded to arose from Mr. Seward's reply to the Governor of Maryland, who instead of putting down an armed mob as was his duty, was coerced by a set of scoundrel "Secessionists" into sending a letter to the President advising him to appeal to the British Minister to settle the difficulty. If on the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, the commander, instead of leading the troops against the foe, or preventing their murdering loyal citizens, had written to the Queen advising her Majesty to apply to the American Minister to settle the misunderstanding, it would have been just as appropriate. Mr. Seward simply replied that it had never been the practice of the American Government to submit its domestic affairs to foreign arbitrament.

The good advice of the Emperor Alexander, however well intended, cannot change the course of the American Government. It is desirous for peace, and always has been. The war has been forced upon it against its will; none but persons possessed by Satan could have made the war. The moment the rebels lay down their arms there will be peace—never before. No lover of humanity could wish it otherwise. This is laid down as an *irrefutable dogma*.

The *Times* does not repeat the story of the rejection of arbitration; but says:—"We have reason to believe that we stand in the United States on the footing of the least favoured people on earth. We are sanguine that the letter of the Emperor of Russia will meet with a more favourable reception than *would have been* accorded to a similar mission from Queen Victoria." This assertion is ungenerous, mean, and pitiful, and quite on a par with the course of the *Times* throughout in this matter. The *Times* says "would have been;" to what period does it allude? to that intervening between the reception of the Prince and the partial acknowledgment of the rebels, backed by the infamous articles in the *Times*? or does it refer to the recent period? If to the latter, and if it be true, what has not the *Times* and the Government to answer for, in having occasioned this change of feeling. The assertion of the supposition can only be regarded as a paltry apology for its own course, and for the semi-recognition, but it is not true. Were the Queen to send a similar missive even at the present time, it would be received with universal satisfaction, and would be highly esteemed by a generous and magnanimous people.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 26th, 1861.



THE "REIGN OF TERROR IN AMERICA."

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—~~THE~~ following is an extract from a letter dated New York, September 9th, from a friend of mine who had just arrived from England:—

"We hear less of the war here than you do, and I do not see any difference except in business."

I enclose the letter to show I have quoted correctly, and that my friend does not find it necessary to go to Canada,

nor to omit signing his name, nor occasion to fear for the safety of his family. Those are evils which rebellion has brought upon Southerners, and which will vanish the moment the rebels lay down their arms. Whatever prohibition there may be at the North against aiding rebels, or communicating with them, or against preaching or publishing sedition, it has been called for by the demand of the people, and if they are in any way restrained, it is at their own request. They are willing to "suffer bonds" for their country's sake.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 27th, 1861.

PERSONAL FREEDOM IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—As an offset to the letter from "An American," in the *Daily Post* of last Friday, I gave an extract from a letter which I had just then received from an *Englishman* in New York. I did not attempt to impugn the statements in the letter from "An American." I doubted not that he had feared to sign his letters; that he had found it necessary to flee to Canada; that he was anxious for the safety of his family because they were in a rebel State. I simply quoted from the letter which I had received, and left your readers to draw their own conclusions. I submit that this course was unobtrusive and unassuming, and I think your correspondent had better have left the matter there; but as he challenges me for an opinion, I will give it.

Your correspondent says I do not contradict the facts stated in his letter, that "no man is safe who has even a spark of sympathy with the Southern people; and even the expression of a desire that this unholy war should cease is sufficient to tear a husband from his wife, or a wife from her husband, and consign them to Fort Lafayette, or elsewhere."

Now I do most emphatically contradict this, and declare that it is altogether and utterly false. So far from applying to the people generally, as your correspondent would make it, it does not even apply to people from the rebel States. They may remain just as safely and securely in the Northern States at the present time as in England. The Government considers all Americans as citizens, and so long as they do not give aid and comfort to the enemy, nor plot treason, they are in no respect molested or annoyed in any way. Thousands of persons from the rebel States have remained at the North at the watering places, in the towns, and at the schools, &c., without receiving the slightest annoyance, insult, or contumely. Recently they have been leaving, not from any action of the Government, but because the rebel Government has declared that unless they returned by a certain day, their estates would be forfeited. The fact of this decree proves not only that they were remaining in the North, and voluntarily, but that some strong measure was necessary to induce them to leave.

Apart from these visitors, many of whom, if not the greater part, have conducted themselves like good citizens, persons from the rebel States had been allowed to come and go, and to communicate freely, until the whole North cried shame on the Government for permitting it; for allowing persons enjoying the protection of the Government to be plotting its ruin and the destruction of its loyal citizens. Secessionists were scattered through the whole land, hired and paid by the rebels to sow dissension, and to obtain and transmit information. After having failed in all their contrivances to divide the North, they endeavoured to get up a cry for peace, and to seduce weak people into echoing it. They had established printing presses in various sections of the country, and to them was mainly due the defeat at Bull's Run. They gave Beauregard full information of General McDowell's plans, and there is little doubt that Secessionists from Washington planned and got up the panic. Recently they have been endeavouring to take the State of Maryland out of the Union, in opposition to a majority

of its citizens. It was high time for the Government to move. So long as Southerners have comported themselves like loyal citizens, or have not obtruded their rebellion upon the public, they have not in any respect been annoyed; nor has the Government proceeded against any one but upon ample evidence. It has made but one mistake, and for that the President and Secretary of State made personal apologies. Most of the persons who have been committed to Fort Lafayette have been sent there on evidence that would hang them under the English laws. If the English public supposes, or if rebels suppose, that by virtue of the respect to which the printing press is entitled, it is to be permitted to publish sedition, to encourage rebellion, to sow dissension, to thwart the proceedings of loyalists, and to be the means of sacrificing the sons of loyal citizens, they are much mistaken. Suppose England were invaded by a French army of two hundred thousand men, and I were to establish a printing press in this town, and advocate peace by the means of dethroning Victoria and placing Louis Napoleon on the throne, and that I persisted in this course after due warning, how long would it be before my printing office would be razed to the ground by an outraged community? And yet there would be no material difference between that case and those cases for which many now express such maudlin pious horror.

Your correspondent asks, "Is it not a fact that a very large number of journals have been suppressed simply because they gave vent to a desire for peace, which is shared by a majority of the commercial community in the North?" I reply, a thousand times, "No!" The supposition is utterly false. The whole North is unanimous for peace, and therefore no journal could be suppressed for that. The war has been forced upon the North; it could in no wise be avoided without the whole people becoming loathsome to themselves, and despised in the eyes of nations. The commercial classes desire peace, but not in the terms advocated by the suppressed papers, the "peace at any price." It is a libel on them to assert it. The papers have not been suppressed

because they have endeavoured to induce the rebels to lay down their arms and restore peace to the country, but because they have been in the pay of the rebels, and have encouraged them; because they have decried the Government, and advocated submission to rebellion. In respect to any considerable number of persons being in favour of what these rebels call peace, and what it is to be inferred your correspondent calls peace, the result of a State election which has just taken place is perhaps the best criterion to judge by. The parties were the "Union party," and the "peace party;" the latter known to be the "peace at any price" party. In a vast many towns the Union vote was unanimous. In others it stood 600 to 1, 300 to 1, 100 to 1, 50 to 3, &c., &c. The highest adverse vote in the towns named is 14. The only surprise is that there should be one single vote in support of so wretched a doctrine.

Your correspondent "cannot see how I can pass over the annihilation of trade, and the bankruptcy of the merchants, by simply stating they do not see any difference except in business." That was not my expression as you know, Mr. Editor. It was simply the expression of a single-minded, honest young man, who was desirous of informing me of the state of affairs in New York. Had he been committing any act of rebellion against the Government; had he been purchasing arms or supplies for the rebels, he probably would have felt uncomfortable; he might have omitted to sign his name to letters; he might have found it necessary to flee to Canada; or had his family been situated amongst the slaves in a rebel State, he might have felt anxious for them; but being a loyal citizen, and his family being at the North, none of these things presented themselves to him; they did not enter his head. "How can I pass over such disasters?" Pass them over! Why, Mr. Editor, I cry day and night over them; my lamentation over this horrible war, and that there should be any persons bearing the name of American who could be so base as to get up this rebellion, cannot be described in words. The only loophole of escape I have from utter confusion in respect to the latter-named

fact, is that their minds have been perverted by the poison of slavery.

To think that the prosperity of this great country should be arrested, its peace and happiness broken up, its glorious traditions tarnished, itself turned into a battle field, its soil stained with blood, the innumerable blessings of peace destroyed, the innumerable evils of war brought upon it, and all by a set of wretches for their own vile ambitious purposes, is enough to break the hearts of all good men, and to cause them to humble themselves in sackcloth and ashes.

Had I ten thousand lives, I would freely give them, every one of them, if it would restore peace and happiness to the American nation; but I believe it would be more to the interests of humanity for the whole nation to be destroyed and sunk to the bottom of the ocean, than to have a peace made with the rebels, confirming, extending, and perpetuating slavery.

Your correspondent expresses surprise at my seeming indifference. I have replied to it. I will now express surprise, and it is this, and my surprise is beyond measure; viz., that any one having one single drop of English blood in his veins, and being informed on this subject, should have one particle of sympathy with those who have got up, or who uphold this infamous rebellion.

I will here mention that there is no truth in the absurd report that the American Government had offered the command of its armies to Garibaldi; it is therefore to be hoped that the *Times* and Sir Bulwer Lytton will apologise for asserting it as a fact, and will humble themselves for their very weak and foolish remarks on the subject.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 1st, 1861.

[May we suggest to Mr Goddard a little more moderation of language in discussing these subjects? No one can read this letter without feeling that our correspondent is either

really or affectedly not in a fit temper to argue or inform.—
ED. *Daily Post*.]

NOTE.—Language could hardly be too strong in reply to some articles that were written ; and pugilists say, “the cooler the head, the harder the blow.”

SIR BULWER LYTTON AND THE UNITED STATES.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR Edward Bulwer Lytton says, “a separation between North America and South America is being brought about by civil war. The vast Continent of America is too large for one Government. It would be too much for one nation to command the resources of one quarter of the globe ; for should one Government command these immense resources, it would hang like a thunder-cloud over Europe.”

It would really appear that Sir Edward supposes the war now raging, to be between North America and South America. It can hardly be believed ; but the entire context indicates it. He alludes to the *whole Continent* in five distinct portions of his speech, and in order that there shall be no mistake says, “you will recollect the United States claimed a right to the whole Continent of America.” He also enlarges upon the great diversity of interests which must exist in so widely extended a nation, drawing from it conclusions in support of his argument ; but whether he is under this impression or not, it is fair to take his words as reported to the public ; for it is in that light they will be viewed by the public, and have their influence for good or for evil.

He may therefore be informed, and more especially the unthinking portion of his readers may be informed, that the

war is not between North America and South America, but between the northern portion of the United States, and some part of its southern portion; or rather with certain rebels at present holding despotic sway in that southern portion of the same United States; and that these districts are interwoven with each other, tied and bound together by railroads, rivers, and by sea-coast conveyance, the waters being everywhere navigated by steamboats and sailing crafts to the number of many thousands, and that they are as closely combined and bound together, and their interests about as intimately connected as are the lands and the interests of the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. He may be told that the United States form a compact portion of the heart of North America, comprising about one-third of that portion of the Continent of America, the British possessions to the north being about equal, the Russian possessions and other northern portions, together with Mexico and the States of Central America to the south, being about equal to another third. Then there is the southern portion of America, called "South America," about double the size of the United States—so that in fact, at the present time, the United States embrace only about one-fifth of the "vast continent," the "one quarter of the globe." It is necessary to go into these particulars, because Sir Edward's expectation of the disruption of the Republic is founded upon its vastness; anticipating, however, the objection that the whole continent is *not* under one rule, he says, "you will bear in mind that the United States claimed a right to the whole continent." Here his historical inaccuracy is similar to his geographical inaccuracy. The United States never made any claim of the kind, nor one indicating an approach to it. Sir Edward draws upon his imagination for supports to his hypothesis. The only ground he has for the assertion is the declaration, by President Monroe, that "thenceforth European nations must understand that no portion of the American continent could be subject to conquest." Moreover, this condition in the Monroe doctrine was as applicable to the United States as to

the European powers ; and consequently is directly opposed to the argument in support of which it was quoted. Had Sir Edward been better acquainted with American politics he would have known that it is a fundamental maxim of American polity that territory shall not be acquired by conquest ; and he would have known that the anti-slave power, now contending for the Union, is strenuously opposed to the acquisition of more territory, and that the rebel power with which he sympathizes, is as strenuously devoted to the continuous acquisition of territory. In fact, the present contest arises out of the refusal of the free States' party to permit the extension of slavery into the United States' territories, foreshadowing, as it does, their refusal to permit the further acquisition of territory.

Sir Edward thinks the United States' Government is about to break up and to form two distinct governments, probably four ; he has long been of this opinion.

Moreover, he thinks it will be for their good. But Sir Edward cannot claim originality for this opinion ; it is not novel ; it has been held by persons of his way of thinking more than seventy-five years, and has been brought out as an indisputable dogma whenever a cloud has hung over the great republic. It is the kick constantly given to the sleeping lion. In the meantime, in despite of the prophecy, the nation has gone on increasing from about three millions to thirty-three millions of people, and in material wealth almost beyond belief ; enjoying liberty and happiness to an extent unparalleled in the history of the world, and at the same time conferring innumerable blessings on mankind ; so that even should the Union be broken up at the present moment the experiment may be regarded as the most successful that has ever been made in the government of man.

Sir Edward says, " All history shows that a nation so extensive cannot hold together ;" and here it must be considered he refers to the present United States, and not to his dreamy conquests. " The Empires of the East, the Commonwealth of Rome, the Monarchy of Charlemagne, are all examples to the contrary ; and when the United

States become divided, the rivalry of the different sections will produce the same effect that the same kind of competition did in the commonwealths of Greece."

Now, even a novice in history will at once perceive that the position of the United States and the circumstances bearing on the question, are in no one respect analogous to those of the empires referred to.

The constitution of the United States emanated directly from the people, every man having a vote in it, and giving to it his direct assent. The Union was free, spontaneous, unanimous. Equal rights are insured to all, with perfect liberty of conscience, and thorough protection to life and property. Every man has a voice in the government, and in the eye of the law is eligible to any office. The nation is compact. Fifty thousand miles of navigable rivers intersect the country, and bring most distant parts near together. Thirty thousand miles of railroad traverse the country, and give easy and expeditious communication with each and every portion of the nation. The cheap post gives every necessary facility to the poorest citizen; and the telegraph wires traverse the whole land, carrying messages between the most distant places at lightning speed, for a mere trifle. In fact, for personal communication, or by letter, the most distant parts are more accessible to each other than the Land's End and Aberdeen were seventy years ago, and in respect to time, nearer than London and Greenwich were twenty years ago. In addition to these advantages the same language is every where spoken, and the same literature is universal.

Now, here are many important ties for binding different sections together. Where no oppression exists, where greater rights, greater freedom, and greater security could not exist under any form of government that could be devised, people do not sigh for another form, nor for different institutions. It may be here fairly asked, then, whence the rebellion? and the question may be as quickly answered; from slavery, and from nothing else; for the maintenance of an institution opposed to the entire genius of the Government and

to the sentiments and sympathies of a large portion of the people.

Sir Edward cannot show that the Empires to which he alludes existed under similar circumstances. Nay, he can hardly show that any one of them enjoyed any one of the advantages named. Hardly any one of them had a representative government, trial by jury, liberty of conscience, or personal protection from despotic rulers.

The Assyrian, Persian, and Macedonian Empires, cannot of course be cited as examples. Sir Edward alludes to the happy rivalry of the Grecian commonwealths; but few Americans would wish to see a repetition in their country, of the constant wars and fightings that existed in those States, even were they to result in making an Athens of Boston, and a Sparta of Richmond; more especially if some Philip from Texas were eventually to break in and bring all under one iron rule.

The Romans acquired their possessions by conquest, and held them by force of arms. The rule for the most part was despotic; at any rate the empire expired under a despotism. It embraced divers races, of divers languages, was widespread and divided by seas and channels. The Saracen Empire was established in the same way by conquest, and kept up by the force of arms. The people were little better than slaves to a religious despotism. Their religious fanaticism was their bond of Union; but as this did not ensure faithfulness, the empire was broken up by the revolt of provincial lieutenants. One great cause of the disruption of these empires was the time taken to communicate with the distant portions, months being required to accomplish what the Americans do in days.

Charlemagne lived before his time; he attempted to accomplish more than the people were prepared for, but still the Government was despotic; its territories, to some extent acquired by force of arms, embraced different races having little sympathy with each other, and no lasting ties; and upon his death the empire broke up.

Sir Edward is challenged to show that the position of

the United States is in any material respect analogous to that of these empires, or to any other empire referred to by him, or that any of the material causes of the overthrow of these empires is operating, or likely to operate, in the downfall of the United States; always excepting that accursed excrescence, the cause of all their troubles, the institution of slavery.

Again, the degree of intensity of the religious sentiment, is a tolerably correct index to the unity and durability of a nation. It is the depth and intensity of this feeling that makes Great Britain powerful. In its darkest days, when hope in man has almost departed, faith in God strengthens the nation, and enables it to come out triumphant. It is a universal bond of union for the whole people to fall back upon, being to them what discipline is to an army; giving confidence in themselves and in each other. Where this religious faith does not exist, the people in time of national disaster have no rallying point.

This unwavering faith pervades the United States. It is firmly fixed in the hearts and minds of the great body of the people. The Bible is their sheet anchor, and although its doctrines may in many instances be transgressed, as is the case everywhere, yet none would give it up in exchange for worlds. This bond of union is powerful, and cannot be overcome. Another of their strongholds, and one that has never operated in any of the dismembered empires is this: the people have everything that a Government can give them, and have nothing more to hope for from any other form or system that could be established.

Thus it will be seen that Sir Edward entirely fails in deducing the disruption of the United States from the example of the old empires, and that his application of historical facts is as faulty as his geographical knowledge. If he *will* reason from analogy, why does he overlook the example of Great Britain? Here is an empire with similar laws, similar institutions, the same literature and language, the same reverence for the Bible, the same habits and customs, with kindred connections by steam power, railways, penny

post and telegraphs; in fact, besides having an hereditary sovereign and peerage, the entailment of estates, and a less extended right of suffrage, varying from the United States, in no material respect. Here is this empire extending over the British Isles, over a portion of America, about equal to the United States, over the West India Islands, over Australia and India; in all about three times the area of the United States: large portions being situated from 3,000 to 15,000 miles from the seat of Government. It really requires no small portion of conceit; such an amount as none but an Englishman or an American possesses; to suppose that the United States must necessarily break down from its extent, and that the Empire of Great Britain can hold together.

Should Sir Edward reply, that the Government of Great Britain is stronger and better calculated to control a great empire; will not the disadvantage of its parts being scattered when contrasted with the compactness of the United States, more than compensate for that advantage, if it be an advantage; or, whether or not, will he pretend that while vital Christianity is becoming more and more wide-spread, and while people are becoming better informed, better educated, and consequently more alive to the justice and necessity of equal rights, they are to be held together by force, in preference to wise and easy rule? But even if he can show that the United States has no example in the British Empire, will he show why this empire will not hang like a thunder cloud over the world; or why it should not break up "for its own benefit," in order that the different portions may rival each other, and produce similar "beneficial effects" to those which attended the rivalry of the Grecian commonwealths?

But apart from the benefit which America is to derive from disruption, Europe also is to be benefited. Sir Edward declares the American Government to be the feeblest in the world. He says the President is so bewildered, he has offered the chief command of the army to Garibaldi; and yet he thinks this feeble Government, which is about to

dissolve because it is too feeble to hang together, and which has to send to Italy for a leader, is going to conquer Canada and the West Indies; drive out Russia; conquer Mexico, and the States of Central America; then the Brazilians and the other powers of South America; opposition also to England, France and Spain; and then having brought the "vast continent" under its rule, and having the command of the immense resources of "one quarter of the globe," this feeble Government having accomplished all this, is to "hang like a thunder cloud over Europe!" Can any stretch of imagination carry absurdity further.

Sir Edward goes on to say that this feeble Government, which has called in Garibaldi to take the command of its armies; a report devoid of truth, and which should not have been believed for one moment; has suspended liberty and law in the moment of danger, stifled the opinions of public writers, and adds, when we see these things, and when we see printing presses destroyed by an unresisted mob, we may say, without vanity, that in the acts of good Government, which preserve freedom in the hour of danger, and enables a nation to right itself by the brains and the hearts of its own children, "America has more to learn from England, than England from America."

This great Republic, which is about to break up from its own weakness, and for its own good, because it would otherwise extend itself by conquest fourfold, and then hang like a thunder cloud over Europe, has given proof, that "in stifling opinion, arresting citizens, and breaking printing presses, it has more to learn in preserving freedom from England, than England has to learn from America."

This is no doubt a very taking sentiment, and one that is very popular just now; but is it true? Are not these the very things that America has learned from England? Has Sir Edward forgotten the "Priestley riots," the destruction of his library, and his expulsion, and the destruction of "Baskerville." Has he forgotten the law, which was passed but a few years since, comparatively, to imprison anyone who should write anything to bring any member of Parlia-

ment into contempt? Has he forgotten the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act during a period of profound peace, merely through fear of the people who were murmuring on account of want of employment, and consequent want of food? Has he forgotten the "Manchester massacre" when armed soldiers rode down a meeting of unarmed citizens, assembled for a lawful purpose, cutting right and left, inflicting wounds and death? Really his recollection of modern history appears to be as imperfect as it is of ancient history.

But to go back to these alleged acts of the American Government: it may be asked, if it be so weak, how is it that these acts of oppression are committed with impunity? Are they not rather evidences of strength, or that they are not acts of oppression, but of self-preservation, called for by the people? The Government has committed no acts of oppression; it has proceeded against traitors, against persons giving aid and comfort to the enemy, in a way thoroughly justified by the example of Great Britain, under much less urgent circumstances. It has done at the eleventh hour what ought to have been done at first, and what Great Britain would have done at first; arrested traitors, and on evidence in many cases that would have hanged them by the laws of England. This *the rebels call "oppression,"* and Sir Edward repeats it. Had the Government not taken these steps it would have been ridiculed by the English press, and justly stigmatized as weak and feeble, and would have been contemned by all.

In respect to mob law, it may be safely asserted that any newspaper pursuing the same course in England that the presses alluded to did in America; advocating for instance the dethronement of the Queen and the placing of some one else in her place; would not exist for a day; but its office would be at once razed to the ground: and there is not a single native born American who, being present, would not assist in the demolition.

The American Government has acted in accordance with the wish of all its loyal citizens, who have belied the

prophecies of all their opponents, that their democratic notions would prevent their submitting to the rules and discipline required by a state of war. They have preceded the Government in asking for the necessary measures; they will even submit to universal martial law if necessary to the safety of the country and the preservation of the Union. The Government is strong in the affections of the people, and, as Sir Edward will find ere long, is entitled to confidence, respect and admiration; but it is to be feared that his fate may not be the same unless he improves his geography, history, and logic, for people will begin to think that a good novelist may make a bad historian, and a wretched politician.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 5th, 1861.

AMERICA AND ITS TRADE POLICY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—It was not intended in the communication to which your correspondent "Vigilans" alludes, to attribute the cessation of importation of articles of luxury into the American States at the present time, to the Morrill tariff. The rebellion which has agitated the nation since that measure became law, is sufficient in itself to account for it. The object was to show, first, that the excess in amount of exportations over that of importations, is a clear gain to the nation, and will assist in meeting the war expenditure; insomuch as this excess does not arise through having parted with the articles exported at less than their estimated value at the American Custom Houses, but is returned, and with a fair profit in addition, in the shape of gold and silver, not included in the Custom House returns. And secondly, to show that the Americans having

of late years expended about one hundred millions per annum in the purchase of foreign articles of luxury, can simply by abstaining from the use of those articles, appropriate, without much inconvenience, an equal sum towards defraying the war expenses. This it is understood they purpose to do, and to practise for the time being rigid economy, not only in the use of foreign articles, but in every way. It is said that many women in the Union States have resolved to use none but home manufactures so long as the war lasts.

In respect to the question of "free trade," it will be perceived that as the conclusions come to are derived from facts, and not from any fanciful theory, they do not tend to prove, or disprove, "free trade" dogmas. If your correspondent expects to get a satisfactory explanation of what is meant by "free trade," or to get any two persons to agree in its definition, or to find any one consistent in carrying out even his own system, so far as he may have a system, I fear he will be disappointed.

The Americans have always been great free traders according to their own notions. They have consistently opposed monopolies, placing every one upon an equal footing; a principle at the root of "free trade," and in which all will agree. They waged war in 1775 against restrictions upon their commerce. In the war of 1812, every ship carried at its mast head a flag with the motto, "free trade and sailors' rights," and every village politician had it written upon his banner; but at the present time, they are under the supposed delusion that it consists in admitting tea, coffee, and other articles exclusively of foreign production, free; and in levying heavy duties on manufactured goods similar to those produced at home. The popular notion in England is, or at least was, that "free trade" consists in the admission of corn without duty, and as a set-off to the agriculturist (but not from the soundness of the principle), the admission of articles of foreign manufacture, also free of duty, at the same time levying high duties upon tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, &c. People must choose between

these theories according to their fancies, but it can hardly be supposed that one is entirely right, and the other entirely wrong.

As my opinion has been alluded to, although it may be of but little importance to any one, I will say I have no doubt, nor do I recollect that I ever had any doubt, that the industry of a nation is entitled to protection to the extent that it is taxed, directly or indirectly, in support of the institutions of the nation. I do not believe that the correctness of any other principle can be successfully upheld; nor do I believe that it militates against "free trade," properly defined. Consequently the agricultural interest is entitled to protection as well as other industrial interests, but how far it would be useful to that interest, and politic in a national point of view, is another question. Agriculture and manufactures may be strong enough now to go alone, but that does not disprove their right to protection, nor show that they have acquired their strength without its aid. The landed interest forfeited its hold upon the sympathies of the people for the time being, and consequently, its control of the legislation in the House of Commons, by upholding for a series of years, a law that made money dear and wages low, or hard to get; and at the same time, another law that made bread and meat dear. It had the weakness to suppose it could get, and the selfishness to wish to get, high rents in dear money.

England has, no doubt, made an important advance in the theory and practice of "free trade;" but so long as it upholds a monopoly in banking, and a medium of exchange between property and labour (which forms one half of the consideration in every transaction) upon a plan or system that places banks and society in constant jeopardy, it can hardly claim to have arrived at perfection in the science, nor to have made due progress in that of political economy.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 21st, 1861.

“FAILURE OF THE GREAT EXPERIMENT.”
“COLLAPSE OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.”

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—SIX months ago, the *Times* led off in the declaration that “the great experiment had failed,” that “the American institutions had collapsed,” and this cry has been re-echoed by the newspapers throughout the land, and accepted as an established fact by that large portion of the community which take for their creed newspaper dogmas, without inquiring into their correctness, or being at the trouble to think for themselves.

With those who promoted the declaration, the wish was father to the thought. Others, who were favourable to the success of “the great experiment,” and had often referred to it in support of their own political opinions, but who had no well grounded knowledge of the experiment, nor of its action, not being able to refute the reckless assertions of their political opponents, and being mortified at their own inability to maintain an argument on the subject, have joined in the cry, and have attempted to conceal their mortification, by abusing the Americans. A large number, however, of good men, true to principle, who knew in what they believed, stood firm in the faith that a system which embraced most of the best characteristics of the English system, and which had for a period of three quarters of a century conferred protection, prosperity and happiness upon millions of people; which had for above seventy years of that period preserved peace to its subjects, while the nations of Europe which decried the experiment, had been for one half the time convulsed by wars, and had lost more than five millions of men in their conflicts, *has something intrinsically valuable in it, and is not destroyed.*

nor even damaged, simply because a portion of the people under its rule have revolted for the purpose of extending and perpetuating an institution, although engrafted upon the system' through necessity, yet contrary to its genius and the instincts and sympathies of all but a class of its people whose supposed interest overrides both their judgment and principles.

These strong-hearted, strong-minded men will not be disappointed, but will, in after times, remembering their course with satisfaction, point with pride to the difference between faith grounded upon a just appreciation of facts, and that adopted for a selfish purpose, based upon a transitory statement.

Six months have now elapsed since the declarations referred to were put forth, and it may be well to inquire what the Americans have been doing in the meantime, and what additional evidence has been offered in support of the declarations, and of the wisdom of their propagation; in fact what value is to be attached to the opinions of the *Times*, and of those who are willing to accept its conclusions.

On the 12th of April, the rebels commenced an aggressive war by an attack on Fort Sumpter; 7,000 men gloried in overcoming 80 faithful soldiers. The 12th of April found the nation utterly disarmed, and its crafty enemies armed at all points. The sworn servants of the nation, occupying positions in its highest council, had robbed the arsenals of 300,000 stand of arms, had robbed the Treasury of six millions of dollars, had dispersed its navy and its most faithful officers into distant seas, had sent its small army to the most distant frontier, and had placed its most important military posts in the hands of kindred traitors. They had deliberately destroyed the Government credit abroad and at home, and having tied the nation hand and foot, these audacious aristocrats proceeded to revenge themselves for their first *political defeat*. They thought themselves secure; they beheld twenty-nine millions of peace-loving ~~citizens~~ meekly submitting to the dictation of 340,000

imperious, slave-holding, labour-hating aristocrats; the "*gentlemen*" whom the English "*gentleman*" delights to honour. They played a great game and have lost it, and their memory will go down accursed to the latest generations.

On the 12th of April, the Unionists had not seven hundred armed men within reach of their defenceless capital; now, they have 250,000 men on the Potomac, fully armed and equipped, with ample artillery and a commissariat hardly to be excelled; they have also 100,000 men in the west fully armed and equipped. On the 12th of April, they had not arms to put into the hands of 75,000 volunteers; now they have an abundance for four times that number. On the 12th of April, they could neither feed nor move an army of 5,000 men; now every part of their vast army is completely organised and supplied. On the 12th of April, they had not a dozen ships of war at hand; now they count them by the hundred, and are guarding a coast line of 3,000 miles extent. On the 12th of April, the Government could hardly borrow a few hundred thousand dollars at *twelve* per cent; now the people lend it 100 millions at par, at little more than one half that interest, and its treasury notes are in many places *preferred* to gold. It will be recollected that the declaration of the *Times* was founded upon an accompanying declaration, that the Government had no credit and no power, not being able in any wise to command the support of the people. "Collapse," indeed! how much above 50 would Consols be, with an army of 250,000 rebels on the banks of the Thames, acknowledged by France and Russia? The work done by the Unionists in these six months is enormous. It has never been equalled in the same space of time by the most warlike nation of Europe. Being happily unused to a state of war, the newspapers have done some silly things; they have magnified trivial losses into defeats, and slight successes into important victories; but the people have kept their temper, and having made their arrangements, and to the best of their ability got the right men in the right places, they now look with ~~entire~~ confidence for complete success.

And where is the evidence of "collapse?" Is entire devotion of the whole free population, and some portion of the slave-holding population, to the support of the Government, and their institutions, evidence of it? Is the rallying around the Constitution, and pledging their lives and fortune and honour in its support, evidence of it? Would not similar devotion in an emergency on the part of the people of Great Britain, be regarded as proof of attachment to the throne, and of the entire success of the experiment of Constitutional Monarchy.

Had the Americans given up, as they were most hypocritically recommended by the *Times* to do, for the sake of ease and money making; had they compounded with rebellion, and handed over the faithful citizens of the South to a military despotism, and the negro to never-ending slavery; had they upon this first assault upon their liberties, yielded to traitors and accepted such terms as might have been granted to them; then might the shade of Washington have walked the earth, reproaching them for their baseness, and then might the finger of scorn have been pointed at them by the slave of slaves, and none would have been more forward nor louder than the *Times*, in proclaiming them cowards, recreants, and dotards. But thank God they are made of firmer stuff! They are true to their country and to their principles, and will remain so to the end, being a brave, generous, true-hearted, God-fearing people; moreover as a people, they are more opposed to slavery than the people of Great Britain ever were.

And now, why should the English press be so eager to pronounce the "great experiment" a failure? Are not the American institutions, laws, customs, its language and literature, mainly derived from England? Is not the system of Government, with the exception of an elective head, no hereditary peerage, and greater extension of the elective franchise, which latter, however, is in strict accordance with the Constitution of England, almost identical with that of England? Would not the failure of the American experiment be a great blow to England's experiment of

constitutional government? Is it not, or may it not England's greatest boast, that she planted this nation on the American continent?

Would not the dissolution of the American Union and the establishment of a slave power, be a great misfortune to humanity and to the hopes of mankind at large? Would not be the greatest blow that could be given to the cause of civilization and Christianity, next to that of the overthrow of England itself? But, thank God, it is not going to happen. The Constitution and the Union will be preserved, right will be maintained, and the workers of iniquity will be utterly overthrown.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 26th, 1861.

WHAT ARE THE AMERICANS FIGHTING FOR?

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—EARL Russell says the North is "fighting for power" and "the South for independence." Though this is but the announcement of an axiom, it implies censure of the former and approval of the latter. All fighting is for power and independence, none ever fought to lose power, nor to become dependent, and, therefore, before any value can be attached to the declaration of the noble Earl, it must be ascertained whether the North is fighting for power to do good or to do evil, and whether the South is fighting for independence to do good or to do evil.

The example of England in fighting for power will be admissible, at least in the eyes of Englishmen. In overrunning Scotland and Ireland, in subduing the North American Indians, in conquering the West Indies, the Canadian

Provinces, and the East Indian territories, it not only fought for power, but for territorial acquisitions. In waging a seven years' war against the American colonies; in fighting France and other European powers; in putting down the rebellions in Ireland, Canada, Wales, and the East Indies, it has always fought for power; moreover, not one of these fights has been necessary to its national existence, with the exception of that with France; perhaps not even that. If England in any one of these instances, or in any other, has been right in fighting for power, then it may be right to fight for power, and America may consequently be right in fighting for power, and it may be affirmed that England in all its wars has never been engaged in a more righteous, nor in a more unavoidable war, than that in which the American Government is now engaged; but, whether right or wrong, or in any view of the case, for a minister of a nation which has been fighting almost continually from its earliest period, and for the most part in order to extend its dominions, to condemn a people for fighting in order to sustain their nationality, shows how weak human nature is, and how apt men are to see motes in their brother's eye, overlooking the beam that is in their own eye.

The question however, remains to be answered; and in the first place is the North fighting for power to do good or to do evil?

It is fighting for power to preserve its nationality. This the Duke of Argyll, in a very sensible speech (one of the few sensible speeches which have been made by the public men of Great Britain on the subject), fully admitted, declaring at the same time it was worth fighting for, and that the Americans were fully justified in fighting for it. They are fighting to maintain intact the land of their inheritance, the land which their fathers fought for, and the territories which they have purchased and paid for with their own money, and which belongs to them as much as London belongs to England, and which the rebel oligarchs living therein have no more right to wrest from them than the citizens of London or of Lancashire have to wrest London or Lancashire

from England, and to establish kingdoms therein, opposed to, and inimical to the interests of the remainder of the kingdom. If Englishmen would only bring the case home to themselves, they would see the folly and absurdity of most things they write and say in support of this rebellion. They are fighting to preserve the constitution bequeathed to them by Washington and the fathers of their republic; they are fighting to relieve their brethren of the South from a military despotism attempted to be fastened upon them by an ambitious unprincipled oligarchy, and to restore to them the blessings of good government; a duty they are bound by the most solemn obligations to perform. They are fighting to prevent a portion of their territory being conquered, and a foreign power established on their borders; the establishment of a rebel slave power being as dangerous to their peace and security as the conquest and governing of that portion of their territory by England, France, or Russia would be, and indeed far more so. They are fighting to be enabled still to offer a home to their naturalized fellow-citizens. They are bound by every principle of honour to do so. In America's extremity these citizens have freely and faithfully offered their lives and fortunes in its defence, taking a course that will for ever embalm their memory in the history of the country. They are fighting to be able still to offer a place of refuge for the destitute and oppressed of all nations; they are fighting to prevent the extension of slavery, to confine it to its present limits, thereby being able eventually to effect full and complete emancipation of the slaves, and in some respects to atone for the wrongs which they have been the unwilling instruments of inflicting upon the negro race. Finally, they are fighting as a solemn duty to themselves, to their country, to posterity, to Christianity, to civilization, to humanity at large, and in every point of view in which it may be considered, to their God; and they never will lay down their arms, nor cease fighting, until the land is purged of rebellion and the whole brought back into one union under one constitution and one rule. Therefore, the North is not only fighting from necessity,

because it has no other resource, and never had from the first, but is fighting *for good* in every light in which it may be viewed, and in this conclusion the noble earl will fully agree, when he becomes thoroughly acquainted with all the facts connected with the subject.*

Now, in respect to the question whether the South is fighting for independence to do right or to do wrong; to be able to do good or to do evil. If it can be shown that any one has ever fought for independence to do evil, that will be sufficient to show that the South may be fighting for independence to do evil, and consequently, that simply fighting for independence may not be a justification for rebellion.

England would hold that the rebels in Canada, Ireland, and the East Indies, fought for independence to do evil; all may not agree in this decision; but all will agree that the rebellion of the arch-fiend was for independence to do evil, and consequently the South, in fighting for independence, may be fighting for independence to do evil; but before condemning it let its inducements for fighting be taken into consideration.

The leaders of the rebellion got up the rebellion, because they saw that under the Union the domination of the slave power was gone for ever, and they themselves, as advocates of slavery, were for ever shut out of the national councils. That caused the rebellion; they were determined to rule or ruin. The personal ambition of a few individuals caused the rebellion; but for it there would have been no rebellion. The North had refused to permit slavery to be extended any further into the territories, but that of itself would not have occasioned the rebellion, which was owing to the fact that it shut out these ambitious demagogues from power. It should be ever borne in mind that this is not a rebellion of the people; of a people oppressed by a grievance; a spontaneous rising to throw off oppression; but a rebellion *of an oligarchy against the people*, to rob them of their

* Earl Russell since the termination of the rebellion has acknowledged that his views were erroneous.

rights, to take from them the right of suffrage in the choice of their rulers, to adopt military rule, and not only to establish the slavery of the black, but to reduce the labouring whites also to slavery. The leaders of the rebellion have openly proclaimed and taught this doctrine, and have even attempted to show that England would greatly advance its power and its social position by enslaving that portion of its population which depends upon its daily labour. In fact it is a rebellion of an oligarchy against the progress of the age, to re-establish the feudal system, or a much worse system. They are fighting for independence to extend slavery through the whole Southern dominions of North America, and to perpetuate it, and to eventually open the African slave trade; to make slavery the basis of government, and to enforce the doctrine that the black was created to be the slave of the white. They are fighting to become a formidable military power; to keep up a large standing army for the purpose of awing their own subjects, to punish the freemen of the North for their abolition sentiments, and watching the opportunity when the North is occupied in peaceful pursuits, to pounce down with their prepared forces and sweep every vestige of freedom from the land. In fact they are fighting for independence to stay the march of intellect, to fetter the better instincts of humanity, to roll back the current of opinion which is freeing the slave and Christianizing the world. Consequently, they are fighting for evil and not for good, and are not to be applauded simply because they are fighting for independence.

Earl Russell and the people of England have no alternative, if true to humanity, if true to principle, if true to themselves, but to condemn the South, and applaud the North. In whatever light it may be viewed, in whatever shape it may be put, they have no other alternative. The North does not require their aid; it can even dispense with their sympathies, though their sympathies would be highly valued; but it cannot see their writers and speakers adopting false notions, coming to false conclusions, and upholding or favouring a rebellion which has everything bad in it, and

not one single thing to recommend it to an enlightened honest Christian people, without entering a solemn protest against a course so illogical, so erroneous, so unjust, and so detrimental to the interests of humanity.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 1st, 1861.

"FAILURE OF THE GREAT EXPERIMENT."

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent, Mr. Russell, mistakes the question under consideration. It is not whether the institutions in their action during the seventy-four years prior to the breaking out of the rebellion had proved a failure, but whether their failure was proved by the breaking out of the rebellion. The *Times*, and those who re-echoed its sentiments, took the ground that it was. That view I combated at the time, and I now hold that everything which has taken place since shows the erroneousness of the declaration, and that in making it, "the wish was father to the thought." The *Times* declared that the Government might manage affairs during quiet periods, but that upon a great difficulty occurring, it had "tumbled to pieces." That the President had no power to deal effectively with rebellion, nor the people any ability, nor patriotism, to help him; that their democracy politically demoralised them; that they had not virtue enough to submit to the necessary discipline to sustain their own institutions; and in fact, that the people of the North cared for nothing "but the making of dollars." These views announced at the outset were trumpeted far and wide. Their flagrant injustice stung the Americans (who in their previous reception of the Prince of Wales had evinced

a true and hearty friendship for England), and induced them to retort with a bitterness, perhaps exceeding the occasion, that is held in lively recollection by the British press, which overlooks the fact that it was the first aggressor.

In the article to which your correspondent alludes, I brought proof of the fallacy of every one of the *Times*' predictions. The fact of a people uniting and rising as one man in support of the Government, voting men by the half million, and money by the hundreds of millions, and pledging their lives, and fortunes, and honour, in support of the constitution, with an earnestness almost unparalleled; utterly belies the defamatory declarations and predictions of the *Times*.

In respect to the assertion that the rebellion was in itself a proof of failure of the institutions, insomuch as that they did not prevent rebellion, I have to say, in the first place, that if that doctrine be admitted, then have most institutions failed. Secondly, that the rebellion is not against the constitution, nor against any one of the institutions recognised by it, but simply because the freemen of the North refused to permit the extension of slavery; an extension opposed to the constitution. Slavery was opposed from the first to the genius of the Declaration of Independence; to the genius of the constitution, and to the sympathies of the people; and the constitution is true to itself, and not false to itself, when it places a limit to slavery; and the people are true to themselves and to their institutions, when they declare that slavery shall go no further. Mr. Recorder Hill says "the North has not his sympathies, because it has upheld slavery, and is now not fighting to put down slavery." This is a very shallow view of the case; the verdict is not upon the evidence. The North has been fighting against slavery from the earliest infancy of the Republic in every way that was lawful. True, it has not ventured to violate the constitution, which recognised slavery as a State institution, through the necessity entailed while the people were under British rule; but it has abolished slavery in seven States, and has continuously exerted itself, and at last successfully,

to obtain the power to limit slavery, and the moment it obtains this power it exercises it: then the slave power rebels. Therefore, the North has not supported slavery, and is now fighting against slavery, and consequently does merit the sympathy of every true-hearted Englishman, and Mr. Recorder Hill would come to the same conclusion upon an examination of the whole evidence.

Whether the experiment, up to the period of the rebellion, was a success or a failure, was and still is an open question. I am not called upon by anything I have said to go into that question. Many good men hold it to be a complete success; others, that it was fairly successful; while almost none, not even the *Times* itself, had ventured to pronounce it a failure. My opinion is directly opposed to that of your correspondent. Putting one's own notions out of the question, and taking leading facts as a guide, the experiment can hardly be regarded but as a great success. Since the constitution was adopted, about one hundred millions of people have lived under it. A people as intelligent, as well instructed, as enterprising, and as fond of change, as any other people of modern times; and not any one of all these people has ever proposed to abolish it, to alter it, or to modify it in any essential feature. It remains to this day, with some trifling amendments, as left by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and their compeers; and finally, when the slave power assails it, not in any of its provisions, but in attempting to give it a construction in favour of slavery opposed to its genius, and in opposition to the known and recorded views of its authors, the whole free population rise as one man in its defence.

Again, millions of foreigners have sought a home under its benign influence; and when it is assailed, a large number of its naturalized citizens volunteer their lives and fortunes in its defence. The evidence of these millions, and these soldiers, may sooner be taken than that of your correspondent.

Moreover, the fact that under it the people have increased from three to thirty-three millions; that they, as a people, have enjoyed great prosperity; that peace has been preserved to them for about seventy years out of the seventy-

four years, while wars have devastated Europe during about forty years of that period, destroying about five millions of men; is collateral evidence of successful working. I am willing to make due allowance for the exceptional circumstances that have favoured America.

In reference to the Church question, which Mr. Russell has introduced, I have nothing to say, excepting that I do not believe there is a more orderly, more moral, or more religious people in this world, than the people of New England; a portion of the country where the institutions of the nation have had fuller and fairer play than any other portion, not having been materially interfered with by the "foreign element."

I do not however believe that the constitution is perfect, nor that any system will ever be hit upon that will cure man of his vices. The Christian religion has not done it, then why should it be expected of human institutions?

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 6th, 1861.

THE LEGALITY OF SECESSION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent, "J. J. S.," enquires whether "there are no possible circumstances that would justify Scotland in wishing to secede?" This question does not cover the ground intended. Persons may "wish" to do what is neither right nor lawful to do. The question intended to be asked is this,—*"Are there no possible circumstances which would render it legal for Scotland to secede from the Union?"*

In reply, it may be stated that the articles of union between Scotland and England declare that, "on the first of May, 1707, and for ever after, the kingdoms of England and

Scotland shall be united into one great kingdom by the name of Great Britain." There is no clause in the agreement granting the right of secession under any circumstances. An able commentator on the laws of England says:—"The two kingdoms are now so inseparably united, nothing can ever disunite them again, except the mutual consent of both, or the successful resistance of either, upon an infringement of those points which, when they were separate and independent nations, it was mutually stipulated should be fundamental and essential conditions of the Union." That is to say, that such infringement would be just cause for rebellion; not that the articles of Union provide that in case of such infringement the aggrieved party might peaceably secede.

Your correspondent is mistaken in supposing the American Act of Union or the Constitution to be a compact between the States. It is not so, but an agreement of and between the universal people. The articles of agreement commence, "We, the people of the United States of America, &c., &c.," A direct universal suffrage vote of the whole people was taken upon the agreement. It is a *bonâ fide* agreement of the people amongst themselves, and no State has the power to step in and annul what the people have done. It cannot be set aside nor amended but through one of the modes pointed out in the agreement itself. Moreover, had there been in the Scotch Union, or in the American Union, a clause so absurd as to declare, "this agreement shall be observed so long as both parties please to observe it, and no longer," still some mode would have been pointed out whereby the will of the discontented party would be ascertained. A meeting of a few people in Edinburgh, declaring Scotland out of the Union, could not be accepted by England as the decision of the people of Scotland. Now, the Constitutions of the rebel States expressly provide that the people shall be appealed to, and certain forms shall be gone through, whenever any organic change is proposed, none of which modes have been adopted by the leaders in this rebellion, but in every instance their proceedings have

been in direct violation of the Constitutions of their own States; consequently, even had the Constitution of the United States provided for secession in case any of the States should wish to secede, no evidence of such wish has yet been offered to the United States Government, but on the contrary, the fact that the doings of the rebels have never been approved by their own people, affords strong grounds to believe that the doings would not be sanctioned if fairly submitted to them. Indeed, there never has been a doubt in the mind of any one, whether a rebel or a loyalist, that these doings would have been emphatically condemned had they been submitted to the people.

I believe that the right of a people to rebel is nearly universally admitted, provided they can show to the world at large just cause for rebelling. This the rebel States have never done; indeed, they have not dared to speak of rebellion, because they would not have had any followers or supporters; but under the specious name of Secession, they have seduced the people into a formidable rebellion. At the same time, while no one disputes the abstract right of a people to rebel, none dispute the right of the dominant party to put down rebellion.

In respect to the interests of the two sections being opposed to each other it is pure nonsense. If their calling be different so much more are they necessary to each other. The interests of two tailors may be identical; but a tailor and a shoemaker are more useful to each other, and are more likely to live together in harmony.

Also what is said in respect to the Slave States being free-traders is without any substantial foundation. The South has from the first establishment of the Government invariably opposed direct taxation, and supported indirect taxation. Mr. Jefferson, the Southern democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1800, came into office on the question of opposition to direct taxation, advocated by the North, and his policy has been maintained by the Southern party to the present time. Under the Constitution direct taxation must be apportioned to the States according to population,

i.e., per head ; five slaves counting as three freemen. Members to Congress are apportioned amongst the States in the same manner, five slaves counting as three freemen. This was the compromise, and the slave power has fully enjoyed this mode of representation, which has given them on the average twenty additional representatives to the Congress, being more than the average of the majorities upon many important questions ; while this same slave power has steadily opposed direct taxation, and in fact has never from the first paid more than about one million of dollars in direct taxation.

Therefore, as duties on importations are for revenue, and as Congress has no power to raise a revenue for any other purpose than that of meeting the national expenses, it follows that the opponents of direct taxation are the supporters of duties, and to any amount required to meet the expenditure. Moreover, the first duty levied as a protective duty, was on cotton, to encourage its growth in the Southern States ; and the first protective duty on fabrics was on heavy cotton cloths ; both of which measures were introduced and supported by Southern men ; the latter for the express purpose of "building up cotton manufactories," and "creating a home market for the raw material," and thereby to prevent the cotton growers being dependent on a foreign market ; the action of "Peel's bill," of 1817, having brought down cotton from 1s. 8d. to about 4½d. the lb., greatly distressing the planters and ruining many merchants. It is true that Mr. Calhoun, about twenty-seven years ago, proposed "nullification" on account of high duties, but President Jackson, a friend of Mr. Calhoun, one of his own party, and from a slave State, and who knew as much about it as any man in America, declared that it was simply "a pretext for rebellion, and that the next pretext would be slavery." Mr. Calhoun only escaped arrest and hanging by President Jackson, through sudden submission, and the prompt and urgent intervention of the friends of the latter.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 8th, 1861.

THE SECESSION QUESTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THERE is no such clause in the constitution of the United States as that quoted by your correspondent, "W. M. T." It is found in the "Articles of Confederation," entered into by the States in 1778, which continued in force until the adoption of the Constitution, in 1788. Under these articles of confederation or compact, the States were nearly independent in their action, and the Federal Government was found to be altogether too weak for mutual good. Hence a Constitution was adopted, proceeding directly from the people, not a compact of States, nor of families, but an agreement of the whole people amongst themselves, expressed by universal suffrage. The baneful effects of a compact had been experienced, and the Constitution was made to emanate from the people, for the express purpose of doing away with all idea of its being a compact. It commences, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union," &c., &c., that is to say, a union more perfect than that which existed under the compact of confederation. The doctrine of secession we discuss, I suppose, for amusement, as no one believes in it; not even the rebels themselves would take the States back to the position they occupied under the confederation, and from which the Constitution was designed to rescue them, and did rescue them.

Your other correspondent, "I. T. F.," says I have not caught his meaning. I plead guilty; but it was not from want of effort. Not however, to trifle, I at once repeat that by the "Articles of Union," England and Scotland are bound together *for ever*, and can be separated only by mutual agreement, or by rebellion; that the American Constitution is not a compact of States, but an agreement of the whole people, binding them together for ever; not to be altered, nor amended, but through the modes pointed out in the

instrument itself, nor to be abolished but by the mutual consent of the whole people, or by rebellion. That a violation of the conditions of the Union by England would give Scotland just cause to rebel, after failing through proper remonstrance to obtain redress, or that the violation of the American Constitution by the dominant party would give the aggrieved party, after due remonstrance, just cause to rebel, no one, I believe, entertains a doubt; but in respect to the rebels, they have neither shown cause, nor claimed the right.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 12th, 1861.

SIR JOHN BOWRING ON THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR.—SIR John Bowring loves the Americans. That is precisely what Bonaparte told the American Minister, at the time he issued the Berlin and Milan decrees, which with the orders in council, led to the American war with Great Britain. Sir John shows his love in a similar manner. Under the profession of friendship he writes a letter calculated, to the extent of his influence, to damage the American Government, to discourage the loyal citizens of the States, and to encourage the rebels. Sir John is content to follow in the steps of the *Times* newspaper, which led off in a similar strain, and has become disgraced. If he continues in this course he can hardly expect to escape a similar fate. Could he look a little higher, and take example of the Duke of Argyll, he would avoid the disaster. In time of peace, the mistaken notions of friends can do little harm, and may be overlooked; but when nationality is at stake, when re-

bellion with three hundred thousand armed men is assailing the Government and attempting to trample it and its loyal citizens in the dust, then such love as Sir John's is not only unacceptable, but is offensive. America can deal with its enemies, it wants no dubious friends.

Sir John says, "the war is dreadful, the most dreadful in modern times." Unquestionably it is. Neither modern nor ancient times furnish another instance of a rebellion so monstrous. But why address the remark to the loyal Americans? Why not address it to the rebels who made the war? Why not point out to them their wickedness and urge them to repentance? Without any cause, without any grievance, without petition or remonstrance, while enjoying complete protection and unparalleled prosperity, while even dominant in the councils of the nation, and fully sharing in the honours and emoluments of office, the slave oligarchs, solely from selfish motives and personal ambition, by specious misrepresentations, coercion and violence, excite a rebellion and make war upon the Government, a Government which they themselves declared to be the best that the world had ever known, with the avowed intention of destroying it and of erecting upon its ruins an Empire, of which the institution of slavery should be the basis, and of which they themselves should be the directors. The wretch who buries a dagger in the breast of his parent, does a deed far less accursed, and yet Sir John counsels the American Government and its loyal citizens to submit to the acts of these matricides, blames the Government for resisting them, and gives the weight of his influence in disparaging the most righteous cause that ever man engaged in. Sir John is challenged to show, that in the long period of England's history, it has ever been engaged in a war more unavoidable, or more holy and just. While professing to love Americans, he counsels them to pursue a course that would render them infamous in the eyes of all people, and of all future generations. Happily, their honour is not in his keeping.

These slaveholders finding the slave power out-voted, and

for almost the first time in the history of the nation; and perceiving this vote to be an emphatic declaration that slavery should not be extended into the territories, and that they thenceforth, so long as professing pro-slavery principles, would be excluded from the highest offices, resolved on the instant to rule or to ruin. Being in possession of some of the principal offices of State, they mis-appropriated Government funds, took possession of Government money, got all the Government arms and stores into their hands that could be removed from the proper places of deposit; seized upon the Government forts and ships in port, having previously despatched most of the armed ships to distant parts, and dispersed the small army into distant regions; and finally made open war upon the Government by attacking its loyal troops, at the same time announcing their intention to march upon Washington, to capture it, and to make it the seat of Government of their intended Empire. They avowed their intention to establish a Government based upon slavery, of which slavery should be the corner-stone; founded on the dogma, that the black was created to be the slave of the white, and that the Bible upholds slavery. They intended to carry slavery into the present American territories, to conquer Mexico, Central America, and Cuba, and eventually to extend it throughout the whole of the immense Southern regions of North America. Moreover, it was their intention to keep up a large standing army, to overawe, if not to punish and subdue, all anti-slavery and abolition sentiment in the free States. They inveigled loyal citizens of the South into rebellion, by preaching the spurious doctrine of the *right of secession* under the Constitution, and in every step violated their own State constitutions. So far from seeking relief from any grievance, they declared to a deputation from Virginia, that if the Government would send them a sheet of blank paper to be filled with their own terms, predicated on a continuance of the Union, they would not accept it, and one of their leaders, the first named of the two, who is daily expected to arrive from Havana, on a mission

to England, declared to the Governor of Massachusetts, that the only condition on which a continuance of the Union could be tolerated by the slave States, was a total repeal of all the laws of the free States abolishing slavery. For resisting these people Sir John blames the American Government! he would have the Government basely yield up a fair portion of its territory; basely desert its loyal union loving sons and brothers in the slave States, handing them over to the tender mercies of a military despotism; basely deserting those whom the Constitution and oaths of office bind it to defend; basely consigning the negro race to perpetual slavery, and descending to the deep disgrace of becoming the aiders and abettors of the permanent establishment of a gigantic slave power; a course that would render the name of America hateful to the veriest miscreant that walks the earth.

Sir John says the Americans are not justified in calling these traitor oligarchs, rebels, "because George the Third was wrong in calling Washington a rebel!" Wishing to let them off easily, he resorts to the astounding means of classing them with Washington, whose motives and acts the world honours. It may please Sir John so to class them, but the world never will, until falsehood and truth become synonymous.

Sir John says the Federal Government has shown no disposition to put down slavery, and therefore is not entitled to sympathy on that account. He condemns the Government for attempting to put down a rebellion caused by a vote of the people prohibiting the extension of slavery into the territories, and applauds the slaveholders for rebelling; and yet because the Government does not violate the Constitution, because it does not break up and scatter to the winds its only bond of Union, its only basis of power, the only instrument by which it holds power, or acts, or has any right to act, *by making war on slavery, by making open war upon the slave-holding States*, whose rights the same Constitution and the same oaths of office, require it to defend; because the Government does not do this, Sir John

declares it is not entitled to sympathy, in respect to any opposition it is making to slavery ; it having in no respect, any more right to attempt to put down slavery now existing in the States (disconnected with the right which rebellion may confer, and which would be relinquished in taking his advice and acknowledging the rebels), than England has under the Union with Scotland, to put down the Church of Scotland.

Sir John knows perfectly well, that any countenance given to slavery by the American Constitution *was a political necessity ; as much a necessity to Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, and their compeers, as the acknowledgment of the independence of the States, was a necessity to George the Third.* He knows that English traders took from Africa, during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, a million and a half of human beings, the half million of whom they buried in the sea, and the million they took to America, introducing them into the provinces against the petitions and remonstrances of the native residents. He knows that upon the States becoming independent, slavery existed in every one of them, except in that noble old State, Massachusetts, which had rendered slavery impossible therein, by its Bill of Rights of 1780 ; that slavery was a settled institution, appertaining to each province, and consequently to each State, and over which the Confederate Congress of the Revolution had no control ; and therefore, that the framers of the Constitution of 1788, had no alternative but to permit it *to remain a State institution*, altogether out of, and beyond the control of the Federal Government. He knows that the Federal Government prohibited the African slave trade before it was abolished by England, making it piracy to engage in it ; he knows that long before England had abolished slavery in the West Indies, six other of the thirteen American States had abolished slavery. He knows that large numbers of the Americans have been stedfastly and pertinaciously advocating the abolition of slavery, until finally they have succeeded in electing an anti-slavery President ; and yet notwithstanding all these acts he declares

they are not entitled to any sympathy, but must, in order to enlist him upon their side, either violate the Constitution, and make open war upon slavery, or else acknowledge the pro-slavery rebellion, and lend their aid in the establishment of a gigantic slave power that all Europe could not subvert!

Sir John wishes the loyal Americans, as freemen, as philosophers, as statesmen, as Christians, to settle this quarrel in peace. There is not a man in the whole Union party who does not wish it more ardently than Sir John, but there is not one amongst them who will accept Sir John's alternative. There are thousands amongst them as free, as philanthropic, as eminent for statesmanship, as learned, as averse to war, as pious, as he; yet, not one of all this goodly array would accept his alternative, were they otherwise to war to the death! Will not this fact shake his faith in his own opinions. Does he suppose that twenty millions of freemen are warring for fancy; that they are actuated by passion; that they are spending the money like dross which English writers have said they love almost better than their own souls, and their blood like water, for anything but what they consider a duty to their country, to mankind, and to God?

Sir John says, "The American Government is engaged in a policy which compels, or at all events, employs acts of despotism which would seem incredible, and are taking measures against British subjects which Great Britain would not overlook from any other country." Is this course by Great Britain dictated by love or by fear? If the former, then it is to be inferred that the general course of America meets the approval of Great Britain; if the latter, then it is to be inferred that America has not become weak as Sir John represents. The truth however is, that this is simply a flight of fancy. These acts of despotism to which Sir John alludes are the arrests of a few individuals known to be giving aid and encouragement to the enemy, amongst which it happened, unknown to the Government, that some three were Englishmen. A more senseless, ridiculous charge than that against the American Government, of having resorted to acts of despotism, was never made; and the charge ill

becomes a Government, or its people, which has heretofore suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act during a period of profound peace.

Instead of being guilty of having resorted to arbitrary acts, the great fault of the American Government has been in being too lenient: it has carried its leniency to an extent that has caused the loss of hundreds perhaps thousands of lives of loyal citizens. It has yielded to a military necessity, and pursued a course which all civilized nations, and especially Great Britain, claim the right to pursue and do pursue to the utmost extent, when under this military necessity.

Sir John thinks "the North would be stronger without a discontented South, and if it then chooses to tax itself with monstrous tariffs, and to repudiate the doctrine of free trade so gloriously triumphant, so be it." In respect to the first, the North acts upon principle, and not for selfish purposes, and will not upon the recommendation of Sir John, abandon that course. In respect to the second, it may be remarked that the self-complacency with which Sir John and others taunt the Americans on the subject of free trade, is characteristic of the weakness and vanity of human nature, and of its proneness to see a mote in a neighbour's eye, unmindful of the beam in its own eye. Great Britain had upheld a system of protection for above six hundred years, and under that system it had obtained its present growth and importance. It is only within the last dozen years that it has abolished duties on corn and provision, and on most kinds of manufactured goods. It is but twenty-three years since its prime minister, at the head of the *anti-protection* party, declared in the House of Lords, that "any man must be mad who would propose to repeal the corn laws," and those laws were ultimately repealed only through the unprecedented efforts of a class with whom the expenditure of money was no object, aided by the Irish famine, and by the fact of the leaders of the two great political parties bidding against each other; while to this day, a highly respectable and influential class, doubts the correctness of the policy

thus pursued. Moreover, even at the present time Great Britain levies heavy duties on tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco, and duties of excise upon many articles; raising in all by these duties, every one of which oppresses industry as much as any customs duties levied by the Americans, *three times the sum annually that America is raising with its high tariff*, which Sir John condemns as ruinous, and which in his love for them he hopes that "parted from the South, they may have the full benefit of." Further, while money forms one-half the consideration in every bargain, constituting one-half of the element in all transactions, Great Britain upholds a monopoly in banking, and has a monetary system disgraceful to political science and the supposed advance of knowledge; and while one would not deny the right of a people to free trade, nor to the advantages of free trade, it is unquestionable that three-fourths of the "glorious result" spoken of by Sir John has been owing to the influx of Californian and Australian gold, and that but for which, the two terrific commercial panics during this period of so-called free trade, which panics were caused by free trade and the vicious monetary system acting in connection, would have shaken the social system of Great Britain to its centre. One thing is quite certain, that Great Britain never repealed the corn laws nor the customs' duties for the benefit of other nations, but simply for its own benefit, and consequently, if America deems it for its interest to levy duties on manufactures, Great Britain has no right to complain; nor did it repeal protective duties until its manufacturers became strong enough in the main to defy, as was supposed, competition. America from the first put all people on the same footing, the essential principle in free trade. It has no corn laws to repeal, it has no excise laws nor internal duties of any kind, to interfere with the free action of labour. Up to the war time it had admitted tea, coffee, and a vast number of articles necessary to art and manufactures, free of duty; while it has for revenue purposes, or at least professedly so, levied duties upon manufactured articles (that is to say, its object has been to raise the most money, not to pre-

vent importations), and it is this slight divergence from what Sir John considers free trade, that excites his condemnation. He would find in the event of a separation of the North and South, that the South would require as high, perhaps higher duties than the North. The South has always opposed direct taxation, and insisted upon the Government revenue being derived from duties on importations. The North lost its power in the general Government in the election of Mr. Jefferson, through advocating direct taxation. Sir John says he would knock off the fetters of the South. The fetters have been of its own imposing. The first protective duty was on cotton, for the benefit of the South. The first protective duty on fabrics was on heavy cotton goods, supported by the South, for the purpose of building up home manufactures, and creating a home market for cotton, Peel's bill of 1819 having knocked down the price of that article and ruined many merchants and planters. An English writer of the period, said, "The Americans are utterly bankrupt, they have no gold! they have nothing but corn and cotton rotting upon their wharves!" I wrote at the time, "Corn and cotton are God's gifts. Gold was probably created for some useful purpose, but a law of man has made it his tyrant. Without it, according to English law, God's gifts will not pay debts; wealth will not employ labour." Since that period, Great Britain has been almost convulsed in procuring free admission to corn; one million and more of Irish have starved for want of it; and now, it is said, four millions of English people are dependant for bread upon a supply of cotton. Providence in the end never fails to punish the nation, or the individual, who does injustice; but this punishment of a sentiment that was entertained very generally at the time and promulgated with much bitterness, is too marked and emphatic, to be allowed to pass without notice. The day will come, when the present sentiment that the loyal Americans do not in their action against slavery deserve the sympathies of the people of Great Britain, and that Great Britain should recognise a rebel power based on slavery, will receive a punishment as em-

phatic. The fact that the South has from the first opposed all direct taxation, and has insisted that all revenues for Government should be raised by duties on importation, is sufficient to indicate the course it would pursue, were it an independent nation, and to show that its people are not free traders in the sense propounded by Sir John.

Sir John wishes the North to be strong, but declares it has become weak through its own course. Will he point out its evidences of weakness? Does the raising and arming half a million of men, the preparing and fitting and arming some three hundred ships of war, the raising of five hundred millions of dollars, all in a few months, indicate weakness? Does the fact that the whole North rises as one man to sustain its Constitution and its nationality, the legacy of Washington and his compeers, indicate political weakness, political demoralization, or the want of virtue, truth, and resolution? Will not Sir John see that a very learned man may sit at home and form most erroneous and imperfect notions of matters on which he is but partially informed, and that the American Government supported and approved by hundred of thousands of as enlightened and virtuous persons as any other State can produce, may be by possibility, altogether in the right, and he altogether in the wrong?

“Pondering over the war of America,” Sir John’s “heart is full.” The Americans believe it. They believe him to be a simple-minded, honest, Christian gentleman; one who means what he says, and will do what he promises; but they believe he does not grasp their case, and viewing it from an isolated spot, that he misjudges their motives and their necessities. They believe that mistaken friends in uttering unsound opinions damage their cause more than the arts of enemies can do. If they say anything which may appear harsh to Sir John, it is directed to the sentiments uttered, and not to the man; and they justify it by the immensity of the duty they are called upon to perform, and by its vast importance to mankind. When they have achieved the work, when they have restored the Union and

their brethren of the South to the blessings of good government, if he will visit them, they will give him a thrice hearty welcome, and show him that they have a country and a Government, worth fighting for, and worth preserving.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 16th, 1861.

THE AFFAIR OF THE TRENT.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THERE is not a braver class of men in this world, nor any class more courteous to women, than American naval officers. No American, nor especially an American naval officer, orders a charge of bayonets upon a woman. The Americans are punctilious to an extravagant extent in the deference they pay in public to women. No English officer knocks a soldier down in the presence of *his* officer, for performing a duty by order of that officer. I pronounce these stories from first to last to be purely an invention and calumnious. No sensible people will allow themselves to be excited by such contemptible trash.

The most surprising thing of the day is that any persons should so far ignore reason and logic, as to affect to believe that while the American Government has, according to the views of these same people, more on its hands already than it can do, it should be desirous of picking a quarrel with Great Britain! Under any circumstances there is nothing, next to the loss of honour, that it would be more adverse to than a war with England, but while putting forth its strength to crush this most hideous rebellion, it certainly is the last thing that the Government desires. How often has the English press taunted the Americans for taking advan-

tage, as it has affirmed, of England's day of tribulation, to show their arrogance, "when they would not have dared to do it had England's hands been free;" and now this same press, while proclaiming that the American Government has more than it can do in its war with the rebels, accuses it of seeking to pick a quarrel with England. The only way to account for this is by the supposition that the object of the writers is to get up a war feeling amongst their readers. A degree of excitement may no doubt be excused when the ship of a proud nation, which according to its own account, rules the waves, is invaded. I well recollect the excitement in America, at the time English men of war were daily and hourly boarding American merchant ships and impressing the sailors therefrom, and can well understand the feeling here; but this untoward event of the boarding of the Trent will have this good effect; viz., it will show the people of Great Britain how bitter is the pill which they have so often administered to others.

At present there is nothing to show that Captain Wilks was acting upon orders from his Government. He was on his way home from Africa, where he had been cruising for many months in search of slavers, and had touched at Havana for coal. He may have received some general direction from the American Consul at Havana, that is quite probable; but if he has acted illegally in a matter where the English law officers are in doubt, it need not excite either wonder or indignation. The San Jacinto had arrived in the Chesapeake on the 15th, and by the Cunard packet due on Sunday it will be known in what light the American Government views the transaction.

Nothing will come of it. If the seizure was in accordance with international law it will be admitted by Great Britain; if not, the American Government will make due and prompt reparation. The articles in the *Daily News* and the *Times*, of yesterday and to-day, are for the most part temperate and judicious, and few Americans will dissent from them in the main.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 29th, 1861.

WHAT WILL THE AMERICANS SAY, AND WHAT WILL THEY DO?

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—MANY of your readers may feel interested in knowing what the Americans will say, and what they will do, upon the present deplorable occasion. They will say that a considerable portion of the English press assumes, and without the slightest foundation, without one single thing to justify it, that President Lincoln, Mr. Seward, and the American people wish to pick a quarrel with England. They will say, that when the account came of the taking of the rebel commissioners out of the Trent, this same press, without waiting to learn whether the act was authorized by the Government, indeed, while there was fair reason for supposing that the Captain of the San Jacinto had not received any orders from his Government, at once charged Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward with having intentionally insulted England. They will say, that when it became reported that the captain had received no instructions, but acted on his own responsibility, without any orders from his Government, instead of acknowledging its error, it justified its charges, on the presumption that the captain “knew what would please the Government.” They will say that the British Government, urged on by the press, without waiting to learn whether the American Government would disavow the act, or would give the prisoners a fair trial in a Prize Court, at once assumed that it would do neither, sending on the instant a demand for their delivery, and backing the demand by preparing soldiers, and preparing a powerful fleet for the American coast. Many will say, that this looks very like “bullying,” and whatever ill-feeling may come up will be on this point.

They will say, that for a nation of known power and

prowess so to act, on the spur of the moment, towards a friendly nation, beset by rebels, fighting for its nationality, for its liberties, for the liberties of mankind, and whatever may be said to the contrary, to circumscribe slavery, and to bring it to an end; a nation which this same press had declared to be weak, to have broken up, to have almost ceased to be a nation; savours neither of generosity, magnanimity, nor of that true courage which Great Britain is known to possess. They will say, that neither England nor America denies the belligerent right of taking contraband of war out of a neutral ship, provided it be passed regularly through a prize court, and have a fair trial. That England has always practised it; that the captain of the belligerent ship must necessarily be the judge for the time being until the ship or contraband can be brought into port, it not being customary to carry a Court of Admiralty on board ship. They will say that if the prisoners are held to be simply rebels, their seizure was opposed to the American doctrine, as held by Mr. Madison, in his war manifesto of 1812, and all American statesmen; but in accordance with English doctrine, and with English practice with American ships from the year 1783 to 1812, and up to this day held as a right. (See the said manifesto and Mr. Webster's letter to Lord Ashburton.) They will say that had an American ship with Nana Sahib on board, sailed from Singapore for America, with the design on his part to stir up the Americans to acknowledge and assist the East Indians in the rebellion (a case exactly analogous, with the exception that the loss of India to England would not compare with that of the rebel States to America), they will say that had Nana Sahib so taken passage, there was not a captain in the British Navy, having the power, who would not have taken him out of the ship, and in the full assurance of being justified by his government.

They will say that Mr. Bright has spoken more good sense than any other man in England. They will say that the English press copies any foolish story that appears in *La Patrie*, a paper that is usually paid little attention to and

known to be in the pay of the Secessionists, with evident satisfaction, founding arguments thereon. They will be very angry, thinking that England wishes to take advantage of their calamity, but being sincerely desirous of peace with England, they will sacrifice anything but honour to preserve it. They will do one of three things, viz :—

1st. They will give up the prisoners, because they do not wish to urge a belligerent right to an extreme ; or,

2nd. They will bring their cause to trial in a Prize Court, and abide the decision ; or,

3rd. Should the decision clash with the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, they will abide by the arbitration of any European Potentate.

In no case will the event lead to war, unless the prisoners are held without trial, or without reasons satisfactory to England.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 5th, 1861.

THE MADISON MANIFESTO.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THERE is a general impression that the course pursued by the commander of the *San Jacinto*, in searching a neutral vessel, is analogous to that pursued by Great Britain, prior to the last American war, of which the American Government complained, and which in fact led to the war ; but it is not so.

Mr. Madison (the President), in his manifesto of June, 1812, accompanying the declaration of war, says :—

“British cruisers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it ; not

in the exercise of a belligerent right founded on the laws of nations against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels in a situation where no laws can operate but the law of nations and the laws of the country to which the vessels belong; and a self-redress is assumed, which, if British subjects were wrongfully detained and alone concerned, is that substitution of force for a resort to the responsible sovereign, which falls within the definition of war. Could the seizure of British subjects in such cases be regarded as within the exercise of a belligerent right, the acknowledged laws of war, which forbid an article of captured property to be adjudged without a regular investigation before a competent tribunal, would imperiously demand the fairest trial, where the sacred rights of persons were at issue. In place of such a trial these rights are subjected to the will of every petty commander.

“The practice, hence, is so far from affecting British subjects alone, that, under the pretext of searching for these, thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public law, and of their national flag, have been torn from their country and everything dear to them; have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation, and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and most deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.

- “Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge if committed against herself, the United States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations. And that no proof might be wanting of their conciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left for a continuance of the practice, the British Government was formally assured of the readiness of the United States to enter into arrangements such as could not be rejected, if the recovery of British subjects were the real and sole object. The communication passed without effect.”

It is to be observed, in the first place, that the facts set forth here are matters of history, undisputed by any one; secondly, that belligerent rights, to the fullest extent claimed by the law of nations, are admitted in the expression, "not in the exercise of belligerent rights founded on the law of nations;" and thirdly, that the practice which Mr. Madison most expressly and pointedly condemns, is that of an officer at sea constituting himself a judge and taking the case with which he is dealing out of the hands of the proper court.

This is precisely what the law officers of the Crown complain of in the matter of the Trent. Had they taken Mr. Madison's manifesto for a brief, they could not have given an opinion more in conformity with it. They do not pretend, nor does Mr. Madison pretend, that it is illegal to search a neutral for contraband of war; but both tacitly admit its legality. What they hold is that the contraband, or whatever is charged with being illegal, should be brought before the proper court and have a fair trial; nor do either deny that if the whole may be taken, the ship and cargo, that a part may be taken, so long as that part is passed through the same fair trial, claimed by and due to the whole.

On the supposition that the persons, Mason and Slidell, were contraband, it would appear that by far the least offensive course was pursued, in taking them out of the ship, instead of ordering the ship to an American port for adjudication, and possibly condemnation; and it would appear to be highly improbable that the American Government, holding the opinions enunciated in Mr. Madison's manifesto, should so far forget those opinions as to omit to give the question of the liability to arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell a fair trial, precisely as would have been done had the Trent been taken into port. If they are brought to trial, and the decision is against them, they will be held; if in their favour, they will be given up, with ample reparation to Great Britain; but in either case, if the trial takes place, then the remonstrance said to have gone out from Government, resting as it does solely on the supposition that the

question had been adjudicated by an improper tribunal, viz., by the commander of the San Jacinto, will be shorn of its point, and be premature.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 30th, 1861.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—It is a misnomer to call the American Government an experiment, and an abuse of terms to speak of it as a failure. The Government was not an experiment. Its main characteristics had pervaded English practice for ages, and according to English opinion had been fully proved to be a complete success. Their application therefore to America, was not an experiment, and whoever pronounces their action a failure brings British institutions under severe condemnation. Indeed, in most respects, these characteristics were prominent during the colonial existence of the Americans, and had been satisfactorily tested and become interwoven with their habits and customs. The framers of the constitution of 1787 simply adapted British institutions to the requirements of a community not aided nor trammelled by established castes or antiquated customs and obligations. They had no family inheriting peculiar rights entitling it to hereditary rule; nor any upon which such a distinction could have been conferred, even had it been desirable; they therefore made the head of the State, instead of hereditary, elective for a term. They had no peerage, nor any class of persons upon whom peculiar distinctions and privileges could have been conferred, even had it been wished, nor would the people have submitted to it; in all respects it was an impossibility; but they gave the right to each State

to elect two peers, for the term of six years, whose voice in the national councils should be co-equal with that of the peers in the British Parliament. Their House of Commons differs but little in its nature from that of Great Britain. Each State is represented in the Lower House according to its population. The mode of choosing these representatives is determined by each State for itself. For the most part, the States are divided into congressional districts, according to the number of inhabitants; every male inhabitant above twenty-one years of age, not a pauper nor a criminal, having a vote, and the voting is by ballot. These modes and qualifications, if not fully recognised in British practice, are still held by many to be constitutional, and in any case are simply amplifications of the English modes already advocated by large numbers in Great Britain. The main argument used in opposition to their adoption is that "the people are not yet sufficiently educated to warrant it," which argument is tantamount to the admission that the ignorance of the people alone prevents it. What limit could have been placed to the franchise in America? Every man had fought and suffered for independence; every man read the newspaper; every man knew his political rights. Limited suffrage was nearly an impossibility; besides, few desired it, and still fewer now believe that limiting the suffrage would have resulted in greater good to a greater number of people. Therefore the American Government was not an experiment; what had already been tried and proved cannot be called an experiment, nor can that which is adopted through necessity. What then would the opponents of the "American Institutions," if any there be, have had? The staunchest conservative, under the circumstances, could hardly have framed a safer Government. It had not created a democracy to rebel against it; on the contrary, the rebellion is by despotic aristocrats against its conservatism. What rule would be applied to Canada and Australia were they separated from the Crown? At the present time, even their form of Government is almost identical with that of the United States.

To say that the Government is a failure is an abuse of terms. That it is a success, and a great success, is a living fact; as much a fact as that Great Britain is an island. That "it is a failure" is not what any one means to say, or should mean to say. The worst that can be urged is that its success would have been greater under a different system. Whether it would or not is a matter of opinion, and must remain so; it is an open question, in which individuals are entitled to the benefit of their own opinions, but to which they cannot require others to subscribe. Though all Europe should express the opinion that the American institutions are a failure, it would not change the fact; because what has been done cannot be undone. Should the Government break up at the present moment, enough has been already accomplished to stamp its course as a great success; and there is nothing in England's history that Englishmen have greater reason to be proud of, after that of having sustained themselves and their position against the despotisms of the old world, than this success of America. One thing is certain, viz., that any American, who is not satisfied with the success which has attended his country, is an ungrateful barbarian, not fit to enjoy the smiles of Providence. If however, the Americans are satisfied, as I believe most are, I know of no reason why other people should be dissatisfied so long as they are not trespassed upon. If the American Government be a failure, it is a failure of English blood to work out British institutions; it is a failure of constitutional freedom, and is more damaging to Anglo-Saxon doctrines and capabilities than anything in previous history.

In determining the question of whether the career of a nation is a success or a failure, regard must be had to leading facts: these must be the guide and not the circumscribed notions of individuals; the grand test being the greatest good to the greatest number. Other tests may allure, but they will not bear examination. Your correspondent, Mr. Russell, says he "has derived his opinions of America from reading American newspapers, publications, and books;"

consequently he must own that his knowledge of it is defective. No one can be a competent judge of a people, or of the success of their institutions, without residing amongst them for a long period, and becoming extensively acquainted with their customs, their motives, and with the various ramifications of society. If Mr. Russell would visit America he would find his mind considerably expanded in respect to its capability to judge correctly. He would find many results of the "experiment" that would astonish him. He would find three millions of people increased to thirty-three millions. He would find them better informed, as a whole people, than any other people; enjoying prosperity unparalleled in the history of the world; better clothed and better fed than any other people, and enjoying ample protection of life and property. He would find that one hundred millions of people have lived under the constitution, not one of whom ever proposed any material change in it, or desired a change in any of its essential features; a fact which in itself should be conclusive of their satisfaction. He would find that profound peace had been enjoyed during about seventy-four years, out of the seventy-eight, of independence. That early in the nation's history a system of schools, open to all, was almost universally adopted, and that this example stimulated Great Britain in its present course, in educating the people at large; it having been held in England only forty-five years ago exceedingly heterodoxical to advocate the education of the masses. The working people of England do not know how much they owe to America in this respect. He would find in one single town three hundred thousand pounds paid to the common school fund annually. He would find numerous colleges and academies scattered over the country. He would find the country covered with flourishing towns and cheerful homes. He would find churches everywhere, and far more church accommodation per head than in England. He might stand upon one spot and count one hundred and fifty church spires. He would find the desire to hear church preaching a universal sentiment. He would find magnificent shops equal to any in London, and renting at higher rates. He

would find magnificent dwellings innumerable. He would find States that were a wilderness within the memory of middle-aged men, containing from one and one half million to three millions of people. He would find more than twenty thousand miles of railroads leading to all points, and numerous hotels everywhere, many times larger than the largest in Birmingham. He might see five hundred sail of vessels going in and out of one port in a single day, and find steamboats without number traversing thirty-five thousand miles of rivers. He would find a steam and commercial marine larger before the rebellion than that of Great Britain, and a flag floating in every sea, as much respected as those of the first nations of Europe. He would find one man giving to his native town £140,000 in one gift, and numerous persons giving equal to fortunes annually. He would find in New York and all over the country vast numbers with large hearts and willing minds, ready on all occasions for every good work. He would find the Irish element remitting annually an almost fabulous sum in the aggregate to indigent relatives in the old country. He would find hundreds of thousands of square miles of land, covered with timber or a barren prairie but a few years since, now cleared and cultivated and dotted with happy homes. Any American or any citizen of the world, whose heart does not expand with gratitude for the manifold blessings bestowed on man in America, on becoming acquainted with the facts, is devoid of feeling. Mr. Russell would everywhere meet with hospitality, and as an Englishman, not pretending to more importance than entitled to, would receive particular attention.

I have resided many years in America, and have travelled several tens of thousands of miles there. I do not recollect at the present time ever having seen there a person begging. I never met with any incivility of any kind. I never saw a mob there, nor a fight of any kind resulting in so much as a knock-down blow. I never, to my knowledge, saw a man carrying a bowie knife or pistol. I never heard any person express any dissatisfaction with the form of government,

nor a desire for any change, save that of making the naturalization laws more stringent, and procuring the abolition of slavery. I never met with any accident; I was never present at any accident, or saw any accident resulting in or endangering life or limb, or any hurt worth naming. I have seen the people universally going to church, and the children universally going to school. These things ought to be evidences of good government, and of a well-regulated society. More than one thousand emigrants land daily on the average throughout the year on the shores of the States, and complaint is made that they exercise the rights of citizenship too soon; but the fault is more in the non-execution of the laws than in the laws. That evil is to be considered, and also the vile stain of slavery which has roused this most foul and unnatural rebellion and which mars this happy state; but it must be done on some future occasion.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 9th, 1861.

THE INSULT TO ENGLAND.

THE following communication contains facts and comments, which should be carefully read and digested by every Englishman:—ED. L. A.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—It appears almost useless to attempt to stay the torrent of abuse which a large portion of the public press is at the present time pouring upon America. England “has been insulted,” “is insulted,” and insists on “being insulted.” Language has been exhausted in supplying newspapers with

terms denunciatory of America. To such an extent has this been carried, that even those papers which are most inclined to favour America, have not been sparing in the use of these terms. And yet how do the cases of insult stand? Why setting aside the matter of the Trent, which will be considered afterward, I challenge the whole British press to point out one single instance of offensive, or even rude conduct, to Great Britain, on the part of Mr. Lincoln or his Cabinet.

The *Times* London newspaper has, for some purpose of its own, endeavoured from the first to impress the people of Great Britain with the belief that the Lincoln Cabinet, but especially Mr. Seward, is hostile to Great Britain. Had the *Times* been hired to write for the Secessionists, it would not have performed its office more effectually.

The first charge made was, that "Mr. Seward had refused the mediation of England, and had had a fling at European monarchies," and this was persisted in until worn threadbare, while there never was one particle of truth in it. No mediation was offered, none was declined, and no fling was had at European monarchies.

The second charge was that the North and South were recommended to "shake hands over their quarrel, make war upon England, and conquer Canada." This has been represented as an American sentiment, and has been an almost universal stock-piece for the press. The *Times* has persistently put this recommendation into the mouth of Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State; it has continuously represented him to be the author; only a few days since it repeated it three times in one leader. It has held Mr. Seward up to the obloquy of the English people for this saying, and impressed vast numbers with the belief that the feeling thus indicated is the key to the whole of Mr. Seward's policy. The whole thing is false. The *Times* knows it to be false. The *Times* knows that there is not, and that there never has been, the shadow of truth in it. The origin of the saying is well known to the *Times*; the whole thing is so utterly absurd that one is humbled in his

own estimation in condescending to explain it. That print, the *New York Herald*, which in its course for a series of years had materially lowered the tone of journalism and of political morality in America, and apparently sought to degrade America in the eyes of foreigners: that paper, edited by a *self-exiled British subject*, without one particle of American direction or influence in its management, after having been instrumental in promoting rebellion, and finding its nefarious counsels scorned by every honest man, vented its spleen in taunting the Union party. It recommended "the North and South to shake hands, make war upon England, and conquer Canada." The saying was not worth the ink it was written with. It was never uttered with any serious purpose even by the *Herald*, but simply as a more ridiculous thing to engage in, even than fighting the rebels; and yet the *Times* puts the saying into Mr. Seward's mouth, and makes one half of all the people of Great Britain believe that he uttered it, and that he is now actuated by that feeling. While one is defending his house against a robber, a passing blackguard, who had instigated the robbery and expected to share in the plunder, finding the housekeeper getting the upperhand, recommends the two to "shake hands over the matter" and go and rob a hen-roost, a precisely analogous case, and out of such a trumpery affair does the *Times* attempt to blacken the character of as honest a man as ever advised the Crown of Great Britain, and to get up a quarrel between England and America, a war that might deluge the world in blood.

Again, when some citizens of Boston gave Captain Wilkes a dinner, the *Times* in its account of it, states that he, the captain, had received the freedom of eleven cities; leaving it to be inferred, and apparently intending that it should be so inferred, that these were given to him for capturing Mason and Slidell, whereas they were conferred some fifteen years before, for services in the Pacific Ocean!

Again, in criticizing Mr. Lincoln's message, the *Times*, accuses him of attributing sordid motives to foreign nations,

of their being willing to override treaty obligations with a friendly nation for the purpose of getting cotton ; the whole of which must be a wilful misrepresentation, for it is impossible the writer could be so stupid as so to misconstrue what the President said. He was simply giving a hypothetical case : he said the rebels had placed their hopes of foreign aid upon the potency of cotton ; and then adds, were it possible foreign nations should be influenced by so sordid a motive as a commercial advantage at the expense of good faith, it would seem that up to the present time they had found no inducement to do so, or words to that effect. The President was stating the argument of the rebels, and the indisputable meaning of the remark is, "the rebels expect so and so ; I do not believe that any nation will be influenced by so miserable a motive, but if it be possible, it has not yet taken effect."

But now in respect to the Trent. Misrepresentation has not ceased on this more important matter, but on the contrary, it has been more active than ever, and had it been the fixed desire of the press to write the people up to a war fever, it could hardly have done it more effectually. When first heard of it was declared to be "an insult put upon England purposely by the American Government." Captain Wilkes had been despatched, not for the purpose of capturing Mason and Slidell, but to "insult England." When it came out that Captain Wilkes had been cruising on the coast of Africa, and had not been to America, nor received any orders from his Government, but had acted entirely upon his own responsibility ; instead of retracting those charges, it was stated that "if Captain Wilkes had not received instructions, he knew what would please his Government," that is to insult England ! The press has reported great rejoicing in America, but instead of attributing it to its natural cause, namely, the capture of two important rebels, bound on a mission of mischief, has attributed it to the "insult put upon England," while at the same time, this same press has invariably stated, without any exceptions, that the American lawyers and statesmen who had spoken on the subject, had

held the arrest or capture to be perfectly legal, and in accordance with the English interpretation of international law ! Anyone not blinded by a preconceived notion, could not have failed to perceive the inevitable deduction, that doing what was considered legal, could not be intended as an insult. Had the people held it to be *illegal*, and still had rejoiced, then it might have been considered as a rejoicing over the insult.

Setting however, motives and intentions out of the question, the press, almost without an exception, has declared that boarding the Trent, and taking out Mason and Slidell, was in itself an insult to England. It has been stated by many who ought to know better, that taking a person from an English merchant ship, is the same as taking one from English soil ; whereas, there is this obvious difference, viz., the soil of England is subject to English rule alone, while ships at sea are subject to international laws : the sea being the highway of all nations, and not under the exclusive control or laws of any one nation.

In respect to the "insult," in boarding the Trent, and taking out contraband of war, there has been a great deal of bad law promulgated by the *Times*, and upheld by others. The decisions of Lord Stowell, the first English authority on maritime law, clearly affirm that a neutral carrying contraband of war, dispatches, soldiers, officers, or persons engaged in promoting the warlike services of a belligerent, is liable to capture by the opponent ; that a vessel so employed, or so used, although sailing from one neutral port and bound to another neutral port, is liable to capture ; that it is no part of the business of the neutral to be helping a belligerent across the sea ; that the belligerent should be crossing under his own flag, and that if he cannot do so it is his misfortune, as much so as inability to relieve a fortress. Lord Stowell lays it down distinctly that the belligerent has a right to board the neutral, to demand a sight of the passenger list and of the ship's manifest, and to search for dispatches and for contraband ; and that if the captain refuses to show the list of passengers or the manifest, or opposes the search,

then he renders the ship subject to condemnation, although he had no contraband or anything unlawful on board. Lieut. Fairfax did demand a sight of the passenger list, and it was refused by Captain Moir, and that alone would have condemned the ship, had she been sent into port, and been passed through a prize court. Thus far Captain Wilkes was perfectly right, and acting in accordance with English international law. He had a perfect right to board the Trent, and to ask for papers, &c ; consequently there could be no insult in so doing. He had also a perfect right, on finding persons or things which he deemed contraband of war, to order the ship into port for adjudication. He did not however do that ; but in order not to give cause for offence, nor to inconvenience passengers and the commercial community, he gave up a prize worth £30,000, and contented himself with simply taking the commissioners of the enemy. In this, if in anything, the illegality of the proceeding consists. It is said he constituted himself the judge, but the captain must necessarily be the judge for the time being ; if he orders the ship into port he is necessarily the judge of the propriety of so doing. It seems unreasonable to suppose that, if the whole may be taken and passed through a prize court, a part may not be taken, if passed through that same prize court. The weight of authority, however, is at present against the right to take a part. A high authority says, "The reason why this has not been practised may possibly be, that it has been found more advantageous to the captor to take other ground, upon which he could found a claim, not merely for the seizure of the individuals, but for the condemnation of the ship ;" but adds, "it is now too late to establish so novel an application of a maxim, never very clear in itself, established five centuries ago, when the rights of neutrals were imperfectly understood."

But although it may be illegal to take into port anything less than the whole, the fact in respect to the "insult" appears to be this, and it is the question of "insult" which is now under consideration, viz., that the boarding was no

insult, that being perfectly legal and proper, and according to English construction of law ; the "insult" therefore, consisted in taking the two passengers, without taking the ship, instead of taking the two passengers and the ship, and all the other passengers. Turn the thing inside out, upside down, or in any way we will, the charge, or supposition, resolves itself into this, viz., that Captain Wilkes, for the sake of constituting his act an insult to England, allowed England's ship, England's dispatches, and England's passengers and cargo to go free, giving up a good prize worth £30,000. The thing is too preposterous to deserve one moment's attention. Captain Wilkes may have made a mistake, the weight of evidence at present is in favour of that supposition ; but it is clear that no insult was intended, and consequently none has been given. A wrong may have been done, but no insult has been offered, and those persons who endeavour to excite their countrymen by representing the contrary, and who are endeavouring through misrepresentations to embroil the two nations in a war, if not amenable to human institutions, will stand amenable to, and will be adjudged by, a higher tribunal.

It must be obvious to every one that the greatest disaster that could befall America at this time would be a war with England, and I *know* that the feelings of the people in this matter are in unison with their interests. There is not a native born American of the Union party who would not deprecate a war with England as a dire calamity. Moreover, there is no desire for Canada by the Union party. They do not want Canada ; I doubt whether a majority could be found to accept Canada as a gift. Everything consistent with honour will be done to avoid a war with England. There will be no war unless England forces it upon America. In that case it will be one whose proportions the people of England little dream of. The first step will be to emancipate the slaves, and put down the rebellion at a blow. In fact, that may be done before the war can be declared. None will rejoice more over the suppression of the rebellion, and relief from despotism, than the majority

of the people of the Southern States. The States will then form one compact Union, with a million of men in arms. The war would cost the lives of half a million of men, and would occasion the destruction and loss of one thousand millions of property; and the question in dispute would be eventually settled, if settled at all, by arbitration, leaving the two nations bitter enemies for generations.

America, in its reception of the Prince of Wales, buried for ever all animosity toward England. The English press, in maligning the Americans, in representing their institutions to be a bubble and to be burst, "the great experiment a failure," and in sympathizing with the rebels, has "rejected the proffered love," and not only so, but has opened afresh old sores and created new ones. The possible consequence is too fearful to contemplate.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 18th, 1861.

P.S.—The fact appears to be lost sight of, that the captain of the Trent has brought this difficulty upon the two countries by violating the Queen's proclamation. He had no right to take the Confederate Commissioners nor their dispatches. By so doing he violated the Queen's proclamation, and exposed his ship to capture.

S. A. G.

THE TRENT AFFAIR IN THE UNITED STATES.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—It does not appear by the accounts received by the Bavaria, that the Europa, which took the Government dispatches to Lord Lyons, had arrived out. This ship left

Queenstown on the 2nd instant, and has been reported off Cape Race (but not to communicate) on the 13th. If that report was true, she could not have arrived in Boston before the 17th. None of the telegraphic accounts mention her, but report the news in respect to Mason and Slidell having been brought by the City of Washington, which left Liverpool on the 4th, to Cape Race, and telegraphed from there. The Jura which left Liverpool on the 5th, arrived at Portland on the 17th, too late for duplicate dispatches to have reached Lord Lyons by her, at the dates of the latest accounts. Therefore, it is evident that the Cabinet Councils said to be holding in reference to Messrs. Mason and Slidell were not the result of the dispatches from the English Government to Lord Lyons, which could not have arrived, but may have been in anticipation of those dispatches, the general tenour of which had probably become known through the telegraph. Not the slightest importance can be attached to the "dispatch from Washington" referred to in a New York paper of the 16th, to the effect "that the Government had resolved not to give up Mason and Slidell." In the first place it would not be made known on the instant to a reporter, and in the second place the New York reports of the 18th, two days later, state "the Cabinet is still discussing the demands of the English Government with moderation." Equally valueless is the report that "the Union men would demand war in preference to making an apology." It refers to the Union men in Kentucky, and was simply a bit of gossip from Kentucky to New York. The remarks that the Government would be influenced by the mob, is unworthy of notice. If there is any mob rule in the Union States, it is in the city of New York, which is deluged by foreign immigrants, but even there the low candidate for mayor at the November election, was defeated by more than two to one. Mr. Lincoln was elected by the great middle-class party, as conservative and respectable a body of electors as any other in the world, in opposition to the slave oligarchs and their dependants in the South and the ultra-democrats of the North, and consequently he

is subject to the best influences of the nation, and has both strength of mind and administrative power to enable him to take the right course. The statements in the English papers with respect to mob influence on the Government are not entitled to the slightest degree of attention.

General Scott left Havre on the 10th, in the Arago, and should arrive on the 23rd. M. Thouvenel's dispatch which was dated 4th, no doubt went by the same ship.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 31st, 1861.

SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS AND VIRGINIA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IN the year 1620, a band of pilgrims from Old England landed in the New World, at a place now called Provincetown, Massachusetts Bay, a few hours' sail from Boston. They went to establish liberty of conscience, and to uphold the rights of man. In the same year Africans were carried to Virginia, which had been settled in 1614, and were there enslaved. The settlers of Virginia were, many of them, too idle to labour; and from that day to the present, the aristocratic portion of that community has regarded labour, the best worldly gift of God to man, as ignoble, and fit only "for slaves or low-bred plebeians." In the year 1861, Virginia rebelled against "the best Government in the world," according to the acknowledgment of the leading rebels, for the purpose of extending slavery; and the sons of the pilgrims were called from Massachusetts to Virginia, to protect the capital of the nation, to protect their nationality, to protect those rights which their bold English ancestors had sought to establish and to transmit to

their posterity, and to prevent the extension of slavery, in order eventually to extinguish it. In the same year, a man by the name of Mason, a descendant from an early settler, who had said more bitter things against England than almost any other man, was despatched for England, under England's flag, to negotiate with England the acknowledgment of the power thus seeking to sustain and perpetuate slavery. Coming into court with foul hands, the emissary of persons that had been guilty as public men, of the most infamous acts, he proposed to gain favour by most insulting means; to bribe England by supplies of cotton and tobacco and the offer of low duties upon a most insignificant quantity of merchandise (while his State and the other rebel States owe the freemen of the North, for supplies, three hundred millions of dollars), to take sides with a slave power, and prostitute its fair fame in the eyes of the world and of posterity. On his passage he was *unfortunately, as was supposed*, fallen in with and captured and taken to Boston, where he had threatened to go as an ambassador, "to dictate terms from the slave despotism of the South to the plebeian sons of labour," the sons of the pilgrims, the champions of the rights of man, whether white or black. Through a technicality of international law, he is restored to the deck of a British ship, at Provincetown, the very place where the pilgrims had landed. This ship started for Halifax, a thirty hours' passage, and at the last accounts she had not arrived although eight days out. A furious gale commenced soon after her departure, and it is conjectured that she had been driven down South. It may be hoped that was the case; for it would be most sad for a ship's crew to be lost in ridding the world of one poor rebel.

The circumstances here related, taken in connection, are of deep interest, and afford ground for serious reflection on the part of the philanthropist and Christian, being evidently connecting links in grand designs of Providence yet to be developed.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 22nd, 1862.

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THE MANUFACTURE OF FALSEHOOD. .

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—PERSONS are slow to believe that a public journalist can be guilty of wilful falsehood. When there is an appearance of it, they are inclined to suppose there is a mistake, or that there are circumstances from which different conclusions may be drawn; honest minds being apt to reject the supposition of a deliberately concocted untruth. The *Times*, in a long editorial article on Monday, in ridiculing the deputation which waited on Mr. Adams the American Minister last week, to congratulate him on President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation says:—"Mr. Adams had probably come fresh from reading the new volume of Congressional papers, wherein is printed a diplomatic correspondence upon the propriety of selling black men taken as plunder to the Brazils, and thus providing for some of the expenses of the war." And again:—"We only point foreigners to a fact which is perfectly understood by every one who reads the report." Here are assertions of so positive a character, that many persons will not question their truth, and thousands will probably go to their graves without being undeceived. Those however, acquainted with the facts generally, and who have a just appreciation of the character of the *Times*, would reject the statements as utterly false without examining the Congressional reports alluded to; still, without such examination, they would not be able to testify to the falsehood. The *Morning Star* has however, made this examination, and states that there is nothing of the kind alluded to in the reports; that the American Minister at the Brazils simply proposed to apply to the Emperor to admit 30,000 blacks into his territories, who should enjoy all the rights and privileges of his white subjects, but nothing was done in it. The *Morning Star* designates the *Times*' asser-

tion as a "lie," concocted to suit a purpose. There is not only the "lie" direct, but there are lies inferential, in the insinuations that the blacks are "plunder," and that proceeds from that plunder would be "applied to the expenses of the war." It is to be regretted that the English language has no stronger term to affix to such base departures from truth.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 23rd, 1862.

THE *TIMES* DEFEATED.*

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE *Times* continues busy at its work of stirring up strife and exciting to war. William Cobbett, as shrewd a man as any of his day, after having for a series of years observed carefully the course of that print, named it the "bloody *Times*." It continues to justify the title, and to evince his sagacity.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in America, it set vigorously to work to assist in destroying the Union, to assist in building up a slave despotism, hoping thereby to deal a death blow to liberal institutions. Jealous of the credit which the free institutions of America had acquired, through the aid and comfort afforded to the emigrants from all nations who have sought and found there a happy home, it has been unceasing and relentless in its attempts to break up the Union.

In the first instance, it attempted to accomplish its object by a hypocritical affectation of solicitude for the welfare of

* It should be observed that the headings of many of these Letters is by the Editor of the paper in which they were inserted.

the people. It sought to mislead by platitudes and sophistry. The American Government had simply to allow rebellion to take its course; to permit the rebels to set up for themselves. It would be barbarous to attempt to coerce them. Brothers fighting against brothers! Christian Europe would not tolerate it. The right to put down rebellion was reserved to England in its dealings with Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and India. In the several rebellions in those countries, the intention to form slave empires had not existed. That formed no part of the programme; that constituted the difference between those rebellions and the American rebellion. But the dogmas of the *Times* being unheeded by the party interested, it commenced its assaults with all the virulence and malignity of its nature. No limit was placed to misrepresentation; when that failed, positive falsehood was resorted to; and that England and America are not at the present moment arrayed against each other, is not the fault of the *Times*. It has exerted itself to bring about a conflict.

“The Great Republic had broken up;” “the great experiment had failed;” the Government had no power; the people no patriotism; no money could be found to carry on the war; everything was done to discourage the anti-slavery leaders, and to encourage the slavery partisans. But when the Unionists put forth their strength, when they supplied money without limit; when they raised and equipped an army of six hundred thousand men, and provided a navy of more than three hundred ships of war, well adapted to the purposes required, all in the short space of six months; when four slave States, and portions of two others, had been brought back to the Union; when the rebel coasts had been blockaded, and the whole interior border of the rebel States had been lined with Government troops; when the people showed that they considered their nationality worth defending, and that they would defend it to the death; when every prognostication of the *Times* had proved worthless; when its ignorance had been shown to equal its malignity; then, at this critical period, the affair of the Trent seemed to it a real God-send.

Unabashed by the fact that in its first number after receipt of the account of the event, one of its best writers, in a lengthened article, had shown that the Americans had acted ~~strictly~~ upon English law, that England had established the practice, and must submit to it, it disregarded its own declaration, and commenced an onslaught. The American Government had purposely insulted England; the San Jacinto had been dispatched for the express purpose of insulting England, by the capture of Mason and Slidell; Mr. Seward designed to attack Canada, and nothing would meet the case but the instant dispatch of a large force to the provinces and a powerful fleet to the American coast. The *Times* and its pro-slavery satellites, taking advantage of the sensitiveness of the English people on any matter touching the national honour, aroused them to a war fever; and the Government misled by the atrocious misrepresentations and stimulated by the general outcry (indeed, one of these organs declared the Government *dare not* resist the demand made upon it for instant action), met the popular demand, dispatched ships and troops with a promptness and to an extent that nothing but imminent danger could justify, and the consequence is that a vast deal of ill-feeling has been occasioned, great suffering has been entailed upon the soldiers, and an expense of four millions sterling has been entailed upon the nation.

There never was the slightest possibility of a conflict from the first, unless England had determined upon a war. America had no intention of going to war with England, nor of giving England any occasion for quarrel, if by any possibility it could be avoided. She had already the great task in her hands of putting down the rebels. It could not add to that task. Those who had been misled by the *Times*, or were so ignorant on American affairs as to believe that the United States desired war, that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were hostile to England, and wished to invade Canada; or those who believed the absurd theory that the Government was ruled by *a* mob, not *the* mob, for there is no such thing as *the* mob in America, might possibly be accused for assum-

ing the probability of war; but those who knew that all these things were utterly false were secure in the certainty of peace. The whole of the expenditure might have been saved; it was utterly useless; money thrown away. And the nation owes this burthen entirely to the misrepresentations of the *Times* and its coadjutors in the evil work. Moreover, in a military point of view, the movement was a gigantic blunder. If by any possibility war should occur, it would be by the declaration of England. America was not going to declare war. It would not withdraw its forces from the Potomac, nor organize another army to attack Canada in the winter. England had the choice of time in her own hands, and if an urgent demand on the Government at Washington had not obtained redress, then the forces might have been sent in April, at a season when the troops would have been landed in Quebec, and when the ships could have acted upon the American coasts. Instead of this the troops were sent in December, to be wrecked in the St. Lawrence or landed in Nova Scotia without barracks or any preparation to receive them; be exposed there for a period of four months to all the rigour of the northern winter, and from whence they could not be removed to Canada on the opening of spring so soon as they could have been sent direct from England. All this was as obvious in December as at the present moment, and it is not stated after the fact simply, but was stated at the time, and proclaimed unceasingly. But "England's honour had been intentionally insulted," and England, which perchance is a little power, and therefore must prove her pluck, is compelled to put forth her strength and to demand instant satisfaction. Happily for the world there are some cool heads to manage affairs, and both England and America are deeply indebted to Earl Russell, to say nothing of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward, for the courteous manner in which he has conducted the correspondence with the United States' Government on this subject of the Trent. Already has this event had a conciliatory effect, for when Earl Russell's dispatches were eventually laid before the American public the effect "was

electrical." The animosity that had arisen from the representations of the nature of those dispatches, by the pro-slavery press in England, subsided on the moment, and a reaction at once took place.

The Trent affair being settled, and in a manner satisfactory to the British Government, the *Times* has become furious; all its plans and expectations have failed; it has not succeeded in any one of them, and in that on which it relied, of arraying the British Government on the side of slavery, it has been completely defeated. Old England has not yet become the prop of slavery, the builder up and upholder of a power that is to make slavery its corner stone, and the extension and perpetuation of slavery its object. The *Times* therefore, seeks a new cause of difference. Like a drowning man catching at straws, it casts about for some new grievance on which to fasten a quarrel, some new cause for interference in favour of the rebels. The great bugbear now is the movement of France.

The Emperor may anticipate Lord Palmerston, obtain commercial advantages for his empire, from which England may be excluded, unless immediate action be taken. Perhaps the *Times* thinks the Crown which was offered by the South Carolinians, through its correspondent, may yet be had! England must not be behind France in bartering her present honour, for prospective gain. The stone fleet* offers a pretext for this interference. It is according to the *Times*, an unparalleled outrage on humanity. None but barbarians would attempt thus to destroy the gifts of Providence, and deprive the world of the luxury of procuring cotton from the hotbed of slavery. Arguing upon an assumption, as false as that of Captain Wilkes' having been dispatched for the purpose of insulting England, this mendacious sheet attempts to show that this is an outrage not to be submitted to. The quaker-like plan of sinking a few ships for the purpose of preventing the needless waste of human life, is denounced as more barbarous than any act of

* Old Whale ships laden with stone, sunk at the entrance of Charleston harbour.

war, "since the time of the Saracens and Tartars." Without attempting to show the puerility of the argument, one instance of British warfare may be submitted, as being nearly as barbarous, viz., that of Lord Exmouth at Algiers, when, without a military or political necessity, the English fleet was laid alongside the mole and its broadsides suddenly opened, which, at the first discharge, swept five hundred innocent spectators, who were looking on, unaware of danger, into eternity. The people of the United States, although fighting for what Englishmen hold most dear, for their honour, their nationality, their freedom, to say nothing of the liberation of the slaves, and although so hard pushed that according to the *Times*, they cannot succeed, must not resort to the measure, which the rebels have been practising on a large scale, of sinking a few ships, to assist temporarily, in preventing the escape of the "Sumpters," and the "Nashvilles." Those who honestly object to this proceeding, may be glad to learn that the rebels say this device of the Government, instead of injuring the port of Charleston, will improve it, by deepening the channel to the harbour. In any case Earl Russell's reply to a remonstrance on the subject will damp the hopes of the *Times* for the present.

If those who are loud in condemning the sinking of the stone fleet, are sincere in the cause of humanity, let them advise the rebels to lay down their arms, to ask forgiveness of their outraged country, and to be again permitted to enjoy the protection and the blessings of "the best government in the world." Let the *Times* take this course, if it wishes well to England and to mankind; and then it may be forgiven for some of the scandals it has brought upon the press, by its habitual departure from honest journalism. This may as well be done first as last, for the only solution of this rebellion, is a voluntary return of the rebels to their allegiance, or their entire subjection by the strong arm of power. The freemen of the Union are fighting for the cause of God and man; and that cause must and will ultimately succeed.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 25th, 1862.

The following communication appeared as a leader in the LONDON AMERICAN, January 22.

WHAT IS THE ACTUAL POSITION OF ENGLAND IN RELATION TO THE “ BELLIGERENTS ? ”

It is impossible to disguise the fact that, in the contest between the anti-slavery party and the rebel slaveholders in America, the sympathies of a very large party in England are with the latter. The reasons for this state of feeling, which is so opposed to the popular doctrines in reference to the slave question, are creditable neither to the good sense, nor to the ingenuousness of the people. Caprice, passion, and a false sense of self-interest, have combined to unsettle judgment and pervert reason to an extent that will be regarded in after times, as one of the most remarkable of historical marvels. Inheriting the institution of slavery, and accepting it as an unavoidable necessity, the Americans, although they had taken the lead in abolishing the African slave-trade, and had abolished slavery in many States, and excluded it entirely from nineteen States, comprising an area thirty times larger than England, have been, ever since the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, subject to never-ceasing abuse by the public writers of Great Britain, and to the bitterest taunts that the wit and malignity of its people could invent, for their complicity in the institution ; and yet, what do we now see ?

When the anti-slavery party in America, which dates its origin before the time of Clarkson and Wilberforce, pursuing a course similar to those honoured champions of humanity for a period of above eighty years, succeeds at last in turning the scale, in removing the dominating slave power from the

councils of the nation, never again to return ; and when it declares that slavery has found its utmost limit and shall be extended no further ; and when an ambitious pro-slavery faction, seeing that its power is gone, rebels for the purpose of extending and perpetuating the institution throughout a region more than forty times larger than England, making it the very base and corner-stone of government, declaring it to be ordained by the Almighty and upheld by the Bible, and with the notorious intention of opening the African slave-trade ; then, at the time when the moral effect of an exhibition of the anti-slavery sentiment of England would be most effective in the cause of the slave and of humanity ; at this critical juncture, the full force of its sympathies, and of its arguments and prognostications is given in encouragement of the rebels, and in discouragement of the faithful anti-slavery sons of the Union.

And what are the assigned reasons for this most remarkable perversity ? First, it is said if the rebels wish to leave the Union, they should be allowed to do so peaceably, and that it is most tyrannical on the part of the North to oppose it. This is said notwithstanding the rebels commenced the war, and notwithstanding the avowed object of the rebellion is to establish a power that will extend slavery indefinitely, and maintain it as a perpetual institution. It would appear that this intention to perpetuate slavery is the main reason why the right of the North to put down the rebellion is denied ; because a contrary doctrine has ever been held in respect to the rebellions in Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and India, where the establishment of slave empires was not entertained.

Again, it is asserted that the North has upheld slavery heretofore, and is not now sincere in putting it down. Whether this be true or not, it cannot be denied that the slave party rebelled because the North refused to permit slavery to be carried into the territories ; nor that the avowed object of the one party is to extend and perpetuate slavery, and of the other to limit it, and eventually to eradicate it. These intentions are too notorious to admit of any

doubt, and should of themselves decide whether sympathy should be given to the North or the South by a people sincerely opposed to the "peculiar institution." But the inconsistency of the reason is as great as its hypocrisy. It would uphold the North in violating the constitution, in breaking faith with the South, and in making war upon it, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves; but when in pursuing legal means to that end, the North finds itself opposed by a rebellion which seeks not only to stay the progress so making, but to extend the institution and make it permanent, then it must succumb at once, and permit the rebels to develop their nefarious projects. It is now manifest that the North forms the only barrier that the world has against the establishment of a powerful slavery confederacy, and the permanence of the accursed institution. Had the North yielded to the evil counsels which have been freely offered by writers in Great Britain, and allowed the slavery party to have its own way, no words could describe the depth of its disgrace.

Another reason assigned for sympathizing with the rebels is, that they are supposed to be in favour of free trade, while the North is opposed to it; that they offer a tariff of sixteen per cent., while the North levies duties of thirty per cent. There never was a greater error than the supposition that the pro-slavery party are champions, or even disciples, of the policy of permitting imports at low duties. This party has always insisted on meeting the expenses of government by duties on imports, and has always opposed internal taxation; consequently no argument need be used to prove its support of high tariffs, because money enough was to be raised thereby to meet the Government expenses. It may be well, however, to state that the first protective tariff was brought forward by a Southern statesman for Southern purposes; that every high tariff has had the support of prominent Southern men; that these tariffs have all had a heavy vote in Congress of Southern members, some of them a majority, and that the obnoxious Morrill Tariff was before Congress two sessions, without any marked opposition from

Southern members. There never was a more transparent device than that of offering a low tariff to secure the support of Great Britain. Nothing but extreme gullibility could take such a bait, and the folly of offering it is only exceeded by the extreme impudence of the supposition that the people of Great Britain would barter their principles for paltry pelf. When, however, it is recollected that the rebels persuaded the *Times*' correspondent that they were desirous to return to their old allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, they may be excused in calculating largely upon their ability to deceive his countrymen. A writer in a London paper puts down the balance of trade with the States against England as ten millions of pounds sterling, and represents it as a grievance. At the same time, he estimates the annual import of cotton at thirty millions, but omits to add that the amount of exports from England to the cotton States does not exceed three millions, and that they do not consume more than one-tenth of the amount of British manufactures consumed in the other States. He omits also to say that a large portion of the value of the cotton is in the supplies of the necessaries of life to the labourer, which are mainly drawn from other States; and that if the cotton States had to produce their own supplies, the cultivation of cotton would be reduced at least three-fourths. Those States have constantly been indebted to the North more than the whole value of one year's cotton crop. The trade with them can never, so long as slavery exists, be of much importance to Great Britain, compared with that to the other States.

Again, we are told that the American Government has been aggressive, overbearing, and arrogant. Admitting this charge to be true, for the sake of argument, can it not be seen that these characteristics are the result of the action of slavery upon society, where it exists? Arrogance, and the spirit of aggression and oppression, are the natural and certain offspring of the institution; and the domination of the slave power in the national councils has tinctured the acts of the Government with its characteristics. Can it not

be seen that it was on this account, combined with a determination to place a limit to this cause of demoralization, that the people of the North arose in their might and hurled the slave party from office? And can it not be understood that the present Government is no more accountable for the indefensible acts of its predecessors than Earl Russell is for the acts of Lord Castlereagh? Yet the true men who have ejected from office the party that was guilty of the acts complained of, and who are upholding their nationality against the rebellion of that party, are to be abused in unmeasured terms on account of the very doings against which their existence as the dominant party is a living protest.

These are the assigned reasons for this misdirected sympathy; but, underlying the whole is another, which controls and governs the minds of many, the origin of which is to be found in the weakness of human nature. It is, jealousy of the success of American institutions and of the prosperity of the nation. This has become too notorious to be concealed or misunderstood; and yet the feeling is very shortsighted. If the American institutions are bad in themselves, the fact will presently be discovered, and the people, who have the power in their own hands, will effect a change. But whether they do or not, reformation is not to be effected by the establishment of an oligarchical despotism, with "slavery for its corner stone." Those who pretend to expect such a miracle must deceive themselves, or be hypocrites. Moreover, the experience of eighty years shows that nothing contributes more to the prosperity of Great Britain than the prosperity of America, and it is fair to expect the same effect would continue. The prosperity of united America is full of hope for Great Britain, and should be a subject of unmixed exultation and pride to the politician, the philanthropist, and the Christian.

In respect to complicity of the anti-slavery party of the North with slavery, and to the right of the people of England to vilify them on that account, it may be said that the merchants of England took (the historian says *stole*) from

Africa a million and a half of men, women, and children, and sold them (such as did not die on the passage) into slavery in America; that the colonists often petitioned and remonstrated against the wrong; that great fortunes were made by these freebooters, and that thousands of their descendants are now luxuriating on the fruits of this ill-gotten wealth; that, to some extent, this wealth has been invested in cotton factories, which have become the most effectual supporters of slavery; and not only so, but that their owners in many instances, endeavour to instigate the Government to acknowledge the rebel slaveholders and to break the blockade for the purpose of procuring cotton; and that many of these same people have the insufferable assurance to point the finger of scorn to the honest true-hearted sons of the Pilgrims, who are giving their fortunes and lives to the cause of putting down the monster iniquity which has been thus wickedly imposed upon them. Sifted to the bottom and examined in detail, nothing more shameful is recorded in history. Truly, those who thus deride the anti-slavery party for not opposing slavery more effectually, and who thus assist in establishing this slave power, "*bear witness to the deeds of their fathers.*"

The spirit of party and momentary excitement will cause manifestations which the sober judgment does not approve, and it is to be presumed it is so in this instance. If this be the case it will be manifested, and the only way in which it can be satisfactorily manifested by the British Government and people is to remain neutral, giving to the rebels neither physical nor moral aid; neither encouragement nor sympathy. The true friends of emancipation, the real philanthropists and Christians, and their name is legion, who do not permit idle pretexts to undermine their principles, may be assured that the anti-slavery Union party will never relax in its exertions until the rebellion is put down and extinguished, nor until slavery is either utterly abolished, or such a plan of certain eventual emancipation is adopted, as will within a moderate period, totally eradicate from the nation this curse, this cause of all their troubles.

The following appeared in the LONDON AMERICAN, of February 19th, 1862.

WHY THE REBELLION CANNOT SUCCEED.

WHEN a people, through a long course of oppression and suffering, are forced into rebellion, the most active or most daring amongst them naturally come to the front rank, and take the lead. They are confided in, and are supported so long as successful in their direction of the general movement; but if they prove incompetent, or through ill-luck or bad management, are unsuccessful, they are immediately discarded, and others are appointed in their stead. No discredit is brought upon the cause that is sustained by truth; and no disasters, however great, will lower it in the eyes of the people, who will maintain it, with leaders or without leaders, until absolutely conquered.

It is not so, however, with a rebellion of a faction for political purposes, affecting their own interests only, or the interests of an exclusive portion of the community, a rebellion in which the people at large have no immediate interest, but in which they have been induced to join by promises of present payment and of ultimate advantage; a rebellion not caused by oppression, nor by any practical grievance, but simply induced by deceit, cunning, misrepresentation, and flattering promises. In such a case, the whole burthen of the movement is upon the leaders. If they fail there are none to take their place; they may make some shifts and changes among themselves, but if still unsuccessful, they not only have to bear the disappointment of failure, but also to hold up the spirits of those from whom, in a better cause, they would derive their strength. This, however, cannot continue; repeated failures bring trouble upon the people, who soon begin to perceive that instead of reap-

ing the benefits promised and expected, their position is daily becoming worse. They do not turn out the leaders and appoint persons from among themselves, because they have no cause to support, no grievances to redress; they are engaged in a speculation of the leaders, and when these fail there is an end of the matter. Under such circumstances, the first evidence of a breaking up, of a disruption, is the finding of fault with the manner of conducting affairs. Failure is attributed to incompetency, or to a desire for personal aggrandizement. The next phase is inquiry into the cause of the rebellion, the reasons for persevering in the strife, and for encountering so many accumulating evils. These all result to the disadvantage of the leaders, and open the eyes of their dupes. Then commences the third act in the drama. The leaders are discarded, thrown overboard, and the people seek to return to their original position and their former allegiance.

Now, the American pro-slavery rebellion comes under this last category. It is simply the rebellion of a faction, contemptible in point of numbers, but which from political standing and possessors of large inherited estates, exercises great influence over the people at large, who are very much in the position with respect to this faction of the feudal retainers of the old Norman barons. By great promises and allurements they have been induced to join in a raid against the general Government. Every expectation has been disappointed, every promise violated, their homesteads have been broken up, their business has been destroyed, incomes cut off, the price of necessaries increased to double their value, and, instead of being the most prosperous and the most happily situated people on the face of the earth, they are at present among the most unfortunate in Christendom. The curtain to the first act is already raised, complaints loud and deep are heard from every quarter, the management of the leaders is denounced in the severest terms, and general dissatisfaction is manifested. The people will soon begin to inquire how this is to end, what they are fighting for, and for what reason they are encountering these insupportable evils?

The third act will soon follow. Taxes will not be paid, money cannot be raised, rebel notes will not buy provisions, the troops cannot be fed, and as this state of things becomes developed, they will disband and return as far as possible to their former occupations.

Had the rebels anything to fight for, had the leaders any *locus standi*, which would enable them to rally the people around them, then in their extremity, they might propose terms to the General Government. They might say, "grant an amnesty, and we will all take the oath of allegiance and return to our homes;" and possibly it might be accepted. But this, under existing circumstances, they cannot do. They have neither the temper nor the wisdom to adopt such a course, and presently will have but the one alternative of yielding unreservedly to superior power and skill.

Humanity, in the sober solemn deliberate position, taken by the loyal people of America, has made within the year, the longest step forward, the highest step upward, that has been made for two centuries. After four-score years of experience, the people have pronounced their unalterable and undying faith in the reality of their freedom, in the value of their political system, in the working of their institutions. So sound are these in their eyes, they offer up the accumulations of past labour, and all the immediate blessings of peace, to defend and preserve them to their posterity and to mankind. The domestic foe which has challenged these institutions for the purpose of upholding slavery, offers the last testimony to their value, by proving that it is impossible for them to overshadow injustice to man. America knows that all outside maligners, ready to follow up in acts what has been so inimical in speech and thought, obey a true instinct of selfishness in seeking to lower a standard which is a perpetual menace to the imperfections of their own political theories. America shows to the world that the weakness which clings to her institutions is a melancholy remnant of feudalism. The slaveholder and the parasite of the old world; those who from the beginning denied that Americans could found a State at all, who have

always predicted their ruin, who have affected to scorn their manners, their literature, their statesmanship, are ready and desirous of attending their political obsequies, but they are doomed to disappointment. Even the rebellion itself has had this good effect upon Europeans, that it has led them to inquire more particularly into the history and condition of a great country and a great people ; but they have yet much more to learn, and when the whole truth comes home to them in all its strength and fulness, they will then, and not till then, accord a proper measure of justice to the noble spirits who are yielding up their lives and fortunes in sustaining constitutional liberty, for the benefit of the people of every land.

From the LONDON AMERICAN, February 26th, 1862. Read with other letters at the Washington Celebration, February 23rd.

Birmingham, Feb. 19, 1862.

GENTLEMEN,—I shall not have the honour of attending your meeting. Were I to be present it would be to conjure every American to consider it a solemn duty, to man and to God, to make any and every sacrifice that will tend to secure to his country and to posterity, the glorious inheritance derived from Washington and the patriot fathers. Washington can be most honoured in upholding his principles.

Hardly twelve months since, this generation of Americans seemed destined to pass away unheeded and forgotten, and without an opportunity of manifesting its gratitude for the innumerable blessings it had enjoyed. The cynics of Europe, seeking to find a blemish in the American career, declared that its people had constantly deteriorated ; that they were losing their nationality, their love of country,

and caring for little else than their own ease, and amassing fortunes.

Now, how changed the scene ; what a proud career they have entered upon ! they have the opportunity, and are taking advantage of it, to hurl this foul slander back upon its authors, and to show its utter falsity ; and although but few can aspire to become prominent in the great work, yet in the all-seeing eye of Providence, every one however humble, who does his duty so far as in him lies, and acts up to the standard of truth and faithfulness, will be placed on an equality even with Washington himself.

The privilege of the loyal men of the States of occupying their present position is worth every sacrifice, and the firm stand taken by them will advance the cause of humanity and truth more than centuries of slothful prosperity. They have pronounced their unwavering faith in the value of their freedom ; in the value of their political system and institutions. They are willing to stake their lives and all worldly possessions in proof of their devotion.

The feudal idea that would affect lightly to esteem these institutions and this devotion, has yet to learn its miserable delusion. A people who have possessed absolute independence for generations under laws of their own making, enjoying full protection in the fruits of their own labours, and every worldly comfort that man stands in need of, in fact a people who breathe the pure air of heaven, and realise what in many countries is simply a dream, *that a man is a man*, are not to be disenfranchised, nor turned from their course by a pro-slavery rebellion, though assisted in its efforts by all the sympathisers in creation, nor by the puny attacks of ignorant criticism, founded on no adequate conception of the merits of the case with which it professes to deal.

America can say to all the world : "The only weakness in our institutions is that portion which is alien to them ;" a melancholy remnant of the inheritance, which the revolution failed to throw off. This remnant does justice to its iniquity and to the purity of the general political system in

seeking to tear itself from a connection that makes the iniquity still more hideous.

When the rebellion is put down (and the putting of it down is simply a matter of time), then the nation will come out of the ordeal like gold tried in the fire ; it will purge itself of the cause of its troubles, and the work of Washington, through the valour of its citizens of the present generation, will become accomplished. The distressed of all nations will then seek a home where there will be no drawback from the first article in the declaration of independence, and to the latest period they will celebrate the day you propose to commemorate, and the noble stand now made by the American people.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

To the Washington Celebration Committee, London.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AND AMERICAN EMISSARIES.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—IN the speech of Sir Robert Peel on Irish affairs, he is reported to have said, that “during the period of apprehension of a rupture with America, Ireland swarmed with American emissaries, stirring up the people to disloyalty.” Now, an assertion of this kind, coming from a person in Sir Robert’s position, unless contradicted, sinks deep into the minds of the people, and the mischief that may be occasioned thereby to the friendly relations of the two nations, at some future time, when it may be brought forward by designing parties to assist in getting up a quarrel, may be incalculable.

Premising that the words reported do not express the

intended meaning, and that Sir Robert should have the benefit of that supposition, until he has had an opportunity to explain what he meant to say, I state, advisedly and emphatically, that there is not the slightest particle of truth in the statement. I say there was not in all Ireland a single American, acting as an agent of the United States' Government, or acting as agent to any acknowledged power in America, or acting as agent to any political society of Americans, or acting as agent from any one or more Americans, in stirring up disloyalty in Ireland to the Government of Great Britain; and I challenge Sir Robert Peel to produce one instance of the kind. Indeed, had there been a desire on the part of every American to produce a rebellion in Ireland, (and I say there is not a single American who wishes to see a rebellion in Ireland) it was nearly a physical impossibility for them to have acted during the short period of an "apprehension of a rupture with England." That period at the outside, did not extend over fourteen days, during which the apprehension was so slight, that insurance might have been effected at five per cent., so they must have acted *upon the instant*, and with the chances of *twenty to one against them*: and then the moment the agents could have arrived in Ireland by the swiftest ships that came over, they would have been at once met by the news of the settlement of the difficulty, and have had no time to act, or to manifest their presence. This, without any other evidence, conclusively disposes of the charge of American emissaries having been sent during the period selected by Sir Robert; and it is equally obvious to those acquainted with the facts, that none had been sent during any of the previous months.

If Sir Robert means to say that discontented Irish took the opportunity to stir up disloyalty; that is a matter with which America has nothing to do. Or, if he means to say that the Irish who had returned from America during the year, took advantage of an expected rupture, to stir up discontent, that also is a matter for which the Americans are in no wise accountable. It may however, be remarked that

the pro-slavery press in England had, during the whole of the preceding months, represented that the flight of Irish from America, was owing to their disgust of the country. In any case it is the business of Sir Robert so to manage the affairs of Ireland that there shall be no cause for disloyalty, and not to attribute the acts of the Irish, whether with or without a cause, to underhand movements of the honest true-hearted loyal people of America, who are themselves struggling to overcome a gigantic rebellion. It is neither just, nor generous, nor consistent with those rules of propriety which should govern a statesman.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February 24th, 1862.

The following by the same writer, appeared in the LONDON AMERICAN, as a leader, on the 28th of March, 1862.

ARE AMERICANS A LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE:

THE question is often placed before us, "If America is a land of liberty, why not allow the slave States to secede and set up for themselves; why attempt to force them to remain in the Union against their wish?" Persons asking this question are generally those who regard what is called liberty in America as synonymous with unrestricted license. They cannot appreciate a condition of society where both equal rights and a love of law and order exist, and have therefore adopted the absurd notion, so industriously propagated by the *Times*, and which has proved so fatal to the small credit it had for comprehending the political status of a people, that America is ruled by a mob, which does as it likes, and manages affairs without regard to the written

law, or respect for the conservative elements of society. Those who thoroughly understand Americans, see that it is precisely because they are a law-loving, law-abiding people, living under a constitution and statutes of their own construction extending equal justice to all, that they are unwilling that any should trample upon the majesty of the law and endeavour to subvert a union which has such glorious antecedents, and which is fraught with such benefits to themselves and to the human race.

The loyal inhabitants say to the rebels, "The people of the United States have, by a universal vote, entered into a covenant of perpetual union. This covenant can never be broken nor altered but in one or more of the ways pointed out in the agreement itself. No one can secede from the agreement. Were secession possible, it would as well apply to a single State, to a town, or to an individual, as to any number of States; moreover, any number of States, even thirty-three, might secede from the ~~thirty~~ fourth, leaving upon that one State the whole duties and obligations of the General Government. But any one or more States may exercise the right which no law can deprive them of, providing good reasons can be shown, viz., that of rebellion; but this must be justified in the eyes of the world, and even in that case, the dominant Power has an equal right to put down the rebellion. This right we possess, and we mean to exercise it, for the following reasons, viz.: The agreement which we entered into has never been broken. Through us you have not a single grievance to complain of. You enjoy every right that we enjoy, indeed, more extended rights, for what you call property is represented in the general Congress, as well as your individual persons, while our persons alone enjoy representation. You have had full protection to life and property, and have enjoyed great prosperity under this Constitution; indeed, as your own leaders have declared, you have lived and flourished under 'the most benign Government on the face of the earth!'

"But, had we the right, as we have not, to permit this severance of the national domain, you cannot show, nor can

any one demonstrate, that that would terminate the war between us; for if we cannot live together in peace, you cannot show that we could do so if parted asunder. You rebelled because you thought our free labour would crowd out slave labour, with the design of carrying slavery into the Southern territories, and establishing your favourite institution on a firmer basis. You would consequently demand a law for the rendition of slaves. Do you suppose we would grant it unless on compulsion? Never! Then where would be the safety of your institution, or upon what basis should we build our hopes of peace? Your domains belong to the nation, not to you. You have simply a life-interest in them; they were purchased by our blood and treasure for national purposes; not that one generation might prostitute them to selfish purposes. You may leave, if you please; but it is our duty to preserve to the people who may come after you, in the lands which you now occupy, the blessings of the Union and of the Constitution which our fathers have entrusted to us.

“Again, our Government is sworn to protect the citizens of every State, and to ensure to each a Republican form of Government, and therefore, so long as there is a single citizen amongst you who objects to the rebellion, and to a severance from the Union, we are bound to oppose it, and to extend to him our protection. Now, there is not only one citizen in your States who objects to this rebellion and this severance, but there are hundreds of thousands; many of them our own sons and brothers, who are extending their hands to us for assistance. Even your own acts showed that you believed there was a large majority of the people opposed to your nefarious designs, for you feared in almost every State to submit them to a vote of the people, and in others there was a majority against you, though you managed to *coerce* them into rebellion. In one State only, you obtained a majority; a little State, containing less white inhabitants than one of our third-class cities!

“This rebellion was, as you know, got up by disappointed political aspirants, comprising a portion of your slave-holding

oligarchs, for their own corrupt purposes, who by means of their position, their influence and wealth, led astray, and imposed upon the 'mean whites,' creatures who had been kept in utter ignorance, that they might be used for the furtherance of unlawful and wicked schemes. With this class, the lowest among you, you have organized a reign of terror; so that your respectable, peaceful citizens, dare not express their opinions, and your object is, as you have declared it to be, to establish, extend, and make perpetual, a slave empire. This we would not willingly consent to, had we a right to do so. We regard slavery as a great wrong, not alone to the slave, but to the freeman; and we hold that we have no right, if we can prevent it, to permit its extension. We submitted to the necessity that was imposed upon our fathers, and by them upon us, of allowing it to remain where it existed; but when we are called upon to be parties to its extension and perpetuation, we positively decline under any and every imaginable circumstance. Our duty to ourselves, to our country, to the slave, to common humanity, to posterity, and to the Almighty, alike forbid it; and further (and upon this you may settle your minds), now that this rebellion has occurred, we intend so to deal with slavery at its close, that it can never again bring confusion and disgrace upon our land.

"The London *Times*, having failed in every prognostication made, in respect to you and to us, and all its speculations having proved delusions, and to an extent that disentitles it to any confidence hereafter on any subject relating to American affairs, or involving integrity; and having failed, in its virulent detraction and unblushing misrepresentation, to assist you, has now the assurance to affect to believe that our preparations and our recent successes do but lead to our moderating the terms on which we are to seek a separation. It says: 'The wisest and best men in America are considering what terms of separation can be agreed upon.' The *Times* has too often deceived you; let it not deceive you in this important matter. We declare to you this is not simply a misrepresentation, but that it has not the shadow

of a foundation for its support. No wise or good man in the United States is thinking of any such thing. None but rebels, or the friends of rebels, dream of any other mode of ending this strife than that of putting down the insurgents and bringing all the States back to their allegiance. It is the universal sentiment that any one who thinks of any other course is a *traitor* to himself, to his country, and to his God. You know there is no such thing as compromise so long as there is a man in arms against the Government. Compromise is a word without significance in this relation.

“As it may be useful to you to know what we intend to do, we will tell you. We intend to re-occupy all the Government forts, and to open your ports to the trade of the whole world. This we intend to accomplish with the least possible delay. We intend to bring the custom-houses into use again; to re-establish postal-service throughout your communities, and to extend the protection of the United States’ courts through the entire land. If you do not choose to receive the benefit of these changes it will be your loss, not ours. We shall protect all loyal citizens. Should any of your rebellious people follow the course pointed out by the *Times*, and retire to the swamps and morasses, we shall regret it; but it will be to their own detriment. They will soon perish, and if they leave children, these will grow up wiser and better, for the fatal experience of their fathers. You will enjoy the same benefits under the Constitution as ourselves, and if you choose will shortly enter upon such a career of prosperity as you have never before known. We have no quarrel with your country, nor with your people. We make war upon treason, and with the blessing of Providence we will destroy it. We cannot at present say exactly how slavery will be treated. Our hope is that you yourselves will then see a way to its *eventual* extinction.”

This is the language that the loyal Americans would address to the rebels. As to their making any offer of a settlement of the difficulties pointing toward separation, it cannot be done. No man possessing a grain of influence dreams of such a termination of the struggle. Those who

allow themselves to be influenced by the shallow speculations of the *Times*, and the equally shallow speculations of its correspondent in America, in the endeavour to break up and dismember a prosperous and happy people, whose only fault is that of having copied and enlarged upon English institutions, and made a wilderness subservient to man, while the nations of Europe have been exterminating each other over questions of family preferment, or concerning insignificant boundary lines, *will one day see and regret their error.* Europe and the world will have to thank the true-hearted sons of the Pilgrims, for standing between them and the establishment of a gigantic slave power, which the world without them could not put down. The loyal people of the States are instruments in the hands of Providence to this end. They will nobly perform their duty; they will sustain a Government which shall afford equal protection to everyone throughout its wide extended Union, and which will offer a secure and happy home to millions of human beings from the over-populated lands of the Eastern Hemisphere.

DR. GUTHRIE AND AMERICAN VANITY.

To the EDITOR OF ARIS'S GAZETTE.

SIR,—DR. Guthrie stands charged with misrepresentation in a speech in Edinburgh, in May last, on American affairs, and until he clears himself of that charge, his further remarks in respect to America, or Americans, are not entitled to respect. In a recent speech, partially reported in your last number he “feels bound to say that the Americans are becoming vain; and he would like to see them a little humbled;” and adds, “what intolerable vanity is that which makes them think we are envious of them! Envious of them! (with great irony). Envious of them! Britons are envious of none.”

Undoubtedly the Americans are a vain people. They are vain of their ancestry. They have even the *assurance* to think that in many respects they are equal to the kindred race residing on British soil. Unquestionably, it is presumptuous to hold equality with those who are individually "equal to three Frenchmen;" but the Frenchmen should complain of this, not the Doctor. Here however, their vanity ends. It ends precisely where that of the Doctor begins, "Envious of them! Britons are envious of none!" Why did he not finish the sentence: "thank God we are not as other men are." Was the sentiment too obvious to need announcement? He could see the mote in his brother's eye, but would not perceive the beam in his own eye. If as *an offset* to such exhibitions of pure in-bred vanity and conceit, the American boasts of his superiority, of being able to "whip all creation," the Doctor, *proof against a jest*, takes it in solemn earnest, and is as innocent of his own manifestation of conceit being the cause of the boast, as the pharisee who went up to the Temple to pray was of his lack of humility.

The Doctor "cannot imagine what makes the Americans say we rejoice over their disasters." They answer, "because we consider that your journals, reviews, and public speakers are exponents of your opinions; and had you read these generally, and not confined yourself to the few honourable exceptions, which it is charitable to suppose you have done, you would have been of the same opinion." He "*prays that there may be no peace in America until there is no slavery there.*" Without asking whether this be a Christian sentiment, whether it is not wishing that evil may be continued in order that good may come; or whether the wish can be justified by the teachings of Scripture, it may be remarked that the Doctor has changed his views since his speech in May. He then pronounced civil war to be "the greatest curse that could afflict a nation," and abused the American executive in unmeasured terms, for not accepting a mediation which had never been offered, and which, had it been offered and accepted, would, as was notorious to all

who were entitled to give an opinion from their knowledge on the subject, have led to no other result than the extension and permanent establishment of slavery, or to a renewal of the war.

The Doctor is wrong also in his historical allusions. It is not true, either literally or symbolically, that "the flag is waved over the slave, with the motto, *all men are born free*." That sentiment was expressed in the declaration of independence, but it was repudiated, and refused admission into the Constitution by those States which have not since emancipated their slaves. Where it was upheld and legally adopted, as in the "bill of rights" of Massachusetts, *the Courts decided that it practically abolished slavery, and consequently the slaves became free under that declaration, without any other act of emancipation*; an interesting fact, of which few of the present generation are aware.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

March 26th, 1862.

VERACITY OF THE "LEADING ORGAN."

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—How frequently during the last twelvemonths, has the public been cautioned against placing dependence upon anything said in the *Times*, on American affairs. How frequently has its ignorance of facts and of the genius of the people, been exposed. How frequently has its unscrupulous disregard of truth, and its utter want of integrity in respect to America been shown, and how often has its determination to aid in effecting a disruption of the Union, even should such disruption be the means of establishing permanently the institution of slavery in its most hideous form, been exhibited. The truth of these warnings has at length be-

come so apparent, that the *Times* has found it necessary to proffer a confession, a kind of recantation and apology; but in place of making a clean breast fairly and honestly, its jesuitical tendencies so strongly tincture this confession, that instead of inducing the good natured reader to overlook its transgressions, it does but confirm the justice of the sentence of condemnation already passed.

In this apology, it says: "The war between the Northern and Southern States of America, has been continued for twelve months, and every incident in it has taken the world by surprise. The early successes of the Confederates, were as unexpected, as the recent victories of the Federalists. The Confederates asked only until October. They thought the North would not support the Union at the cost of war, and that the cotton trade would induce France and England to recognise them. On these assumptions they acted, and it is singular how all their calculations were verified in all but the one grand result. They did take the North by surprise, and kept their adversaries absolutely at bay by the force with which they suddenly surrounded them. Advancing from their own country, they occupied the Border States, and actually achieved a victory in a pitched battle. Meanwhile the divisions in the North were so great, that nothing but terrorism would keep treason under. The views taken in Europe became more and more favourable to the seceders; and it is well known that the new Confederacy would have obtained the recognition anticipated, but for the resolution of England not to interfere in the strife. Everything therefore happened as the seceders expected, and indeed more fortunately than they could have hoped, and yet the final result, however probable in itself, did not occur.

"If we look for an explanation of this disappointment of the South, we shall find it in the unexpected and astonishing resolution of the North. It would be unjust, either to dissemble or depreciate the spirit which the Federals have developed in this extraordinary contest. Beginning with such lukewarmness of feeling and indecision of purpose as surprised all observers, they gradually lashed themselves into

a temper which no disaster would daunt and no difficulties appal. Their armies were repulsed whenever they attempted an advance. Their expenditure became so prodigious that the financiers of Europe were astounded at the spectacle; their borrowing powers rapidly failed, and specie payments were suspended. The opinions of Europe was hence less and less favourable to them. Not that we sympathized with slave-owners, or approved the wilful destruction of a great political fabric, but that we thought the fact accomplished.

"We saw there existed between the North and the South so many grounds of quarrel and antagonism, that they never could be united as before, and that the mere conquest of the one by the other would be worse than useless.

"On this side of the Atlantic therefore, there was nothing to encourage the Unionists. Still they worked on, until at length their numbers, their wealth, and their manifold resources have told upon the war. There are twenty millions against ten, and by their command of the sea, they deprive the ten of the supplies by which armies are made effective. Henceforth the war will assume a new complexion altogether. Everything appears to be going on the way least expected. It was conceived, and surely with reason, that the institution of slavery formed an element of weakness in the Southern cause, and the emancipation of the negro was held in reserve, as the most dreadful weapon by which the seceders could be threatened. No idea of insurrection possesses the slave population, nor can they be excited to revolt by any instigation of the invaders. Equally strange, though as yet less decidedly manifest, is the upshot of the great Federal difficulty of finance. They have accepted the theory of a great national debt with marvellous alacrity. Cash failed, loans failed and taxes failed, and yet the public service did not suffer. In fact the Federalists have had but little trouble in the matter. It is beyond all question that the North is getting on smoothly enough, and is as little troubled about its treasury as the South is about its slaves.

"But what is the end to be? *That* depends on one consideration only; the real temper and purpose of the South.

If the Southerners went in to win on their first calculations, they must lose. Though reasonable enough, their calculations have all been upset by the tenacity of the North. The original speculation has failed. The Federals were not frightened by a great war, nor disheartened by defeats. England and France believed the Union gone beyond reviving. So far the Southern game has been lost ; but if the seceders are determined to persevere, the Northern game must be lost in the end. Territories like those of the Confederates can never be conquered. If the Southerners persist in refusing to join the Union, the Federals can do nothing but protract, at a ruinous cost, a war in which the object can never be attained."

The conclusion of this long apologetic article forces upon the mind the rather disagreeable proverb of a "dog returning," &c. The *Times* ends precisely as it commenced a year ago. Convinced against its will, it is of the same opinion still. The opinion is worth just as much now as it was then ; nothing. The *Times* acknowledges that everything has turned out contrary to its expectations. The reason is plain. In its ignorance, and its desire to see a disruption of the Union, it has ignored the important facts upon which calculations could be safely based.

1st. It ignored the fact that this was not a rebellion of the people, but one of political aspirants, who, by their position, cunning, and falsehoods, and by playing upon sectional pride, and propounding a flattering theory, deluded their followers into rebellion.

2nd. It ignored the fact that the rebellion was not founded on any real grievance, and consequently could not be persistent and enduring.

3rd. It ignored the fact that the cause of the rebellion was slavery, and that the North would not submit to its extension or its perpetuation. That the battle was to be between slavery and freedom, and would have to be fought out, until one or the other should be put down.

4th. It ignored the fact that American nationality and American institutions were worth preserving ; that the Americans

were aware of it; that they valued their institutions above all other earthly things, and would defend them to their last dollar and their latest breath.

5th. It ignored the fact that the North had better fight to the death than permit a separation; insomuch as separation would lead to nothing but endless contention, and be a thousand times worse than a most expensive war which should secure the Union.

6th. It ignored the fact, because its views of political economy were so perverse and so limited, that a country which is creating riches, almost without limit, cannot be materially damaged by even a profuse expenditure, when that expenditure is almost entirely amongst its own people.

7th. It ignored the fact that the use of paper instead of gold is a great advance in the science of money, and highly advantageous when properly limited and based on ample security. That England fought the world on paper, at 33½ per cent. discount, while the American Government paper is now at a discount of but 1½ per cent. for gold. That England with but twenty millions of people and without any productive gold mines, undertook to pay five thousand millions of dollars in gold (which the *Times* advocated and abetted), although it could not have borrowed a hundred millions of dollars in gold; while America has thirty-three millions of people, one thousand millions of acres of Government land, and rich mines of gold and silver. Repudiating these leading facts, no wonder the *Times* has been invariably in error. The course of events has in the main taken no one "by surprise" who understood the whole bearings of the case. The rebels had been long preparing, and their early success was not unlooked for; nor were the later successes of the Unionists. It is not true that "all the calculations of the rebels have been verified, except the great result." Every calculation they made has been defeated. They have succeeded in nothing but in holding a position. The attack at Manassas, although successful in the first instance, ought never to have been made; it was a blunder. It is false that the North has "depended on terrorism to keep down treason

within its borders;" instead of which the Government was culpably negligent in not taking earlier means to expel the southern agents of sedition. A universal shout of indignation demanded that those agents should be expelled; then the Government acted; the treason in the free States was extinguished as easily and as thoroughly, as the glare of a farthing rushlight is overcome by the blaze of the sun. It is not true that the Emperor of France was restrained by England from acknowledging the rebels. That is simply an audacious assertion of the *Times*. The "resolution of the North" was not unexpected. Every one capable of judging knew it would be so. The Northerners did not "begin with lukewarmness," nor "lash themselves into a temper." They were simply cool and considerate, delaying hostile action to the latest possible period; then when it was found that hostilities could no longer be avoided, the alternative was accepted, not in temper, but in the full unchangeable determination of prosecuting it to its legitimate conclusion. As well might it be said that Nelson was lukewarm while trimming his sails to work to windward of the enemy, but lashed himself into a temper when pouring broadsides into their ships. It is not true that the *Times* "did not approve of the wilful destruction of a great political fabric." It did approve of it, and lent its utmost aid to accomplish it. The "many grounds of antagonism" exist only in the perverted view of the *Times*, wilfully persisted in. Slavery has been the sole cause of the rebellion; all other interests harmonize. It is not true that conquest, even should the persistence of the rebellion render that indispensable, "would be worse than useless." It would be a thousand times preferable to a separation. The ill-feeling would wear off at the most in three generations; but with separation, the antagonism would continue so long as the world should stand. It is perfectly true, as the *Times* states, and it may be written in capital letters, that, "on this side of the Atlantic there was nothing to encourage the Unionists." It is true that slavery was regarded as an element of weakness to the South, and it is still so regarded, and that it is a weakness will be shown, whenever

the North has a mind to act upon it. The assertion that the North has attempted to incite the slaves to revolt, is not true, and the *Times* knows it is not true. That weapon has not been used. The horrors of a servile war have been feared and shunned, but should it be found necessary in order to suppress rebellion and restore the Union, to arm slaves, it will be done, but it will be left to the rebels to bring it upon themselves.

The financial success is not comprehended, because the wealth and condition of the people and their attachment to the Constitution and to law and order, is not understood. To one acquainted with these, it is no cause of surprise. The *Times*, without any previous knowledge, might have been tolerably well informed, had it had a correspondent in America who could have risen above the philosophy of pipe-clay, and who could have understood that a pot-house rowdy did not represent the American people.

But, as already stated, the *Times*, nothing daunted, must prophesy again. It says the end of the contest "must depend on the temper of the South." It need not fear that the leaders of the rebels will not use their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. If there are but few Union men in the South, the contest will be prolonged; but in any case, whatever else comes up, the rebellion will be put down and the Union restored. That has to be done; the North has made up its mind to do it, and it will do it. No one need to fear for one moment that that will not be accomplished. The rebels never had the shadow of a chance from the first, except in the hope that the North would be divided, and that England and France would interfere. Failing in these, the result was certain. Not only will the Union be restored, but the cause of it will be got rid of. Wherever the Union armies go, the slaves will be emancipated. Congress has passed a law prohibiting any officer of the army from returning a runaway slave on penalty of being at once discharged and deprived of his commission. Every slave who seeks protection within the Union lines virtually becomes free. No power can return him to slavery. This act of

Congress virtually amends the fugitive slave law, never again to be enforced.

The *Times* has from the first shut its eyes to the truth. It has ignored the fact that the cause of the Unionists is holy and just, and that of the rebels wicked and unjust. In this consists the strength of the one and the weakness of the other. It may be said without premising a special providence in the matter, that the North is receiving punishment attendant upon and arising out of the sin of lending its countenance heretofore to slavery; and that the rebels, who are a thousand times more guilty, will most certainly receive a more terrible punishment.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 12th, 1862.

QUERIES FOR THE *TIMES*.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—CAN you inform your readers whether “the reliable Liverpool merchant,” who supplied the papers with an account of the defeat of General McClellan at Yorktown, received at Baltimore, by steamboat, on or prior to the 8th (the date of the letter), and which defeat must have consequently taken place as early as the 6th, or at the latest, on the morning of the 7th, while we have official information from before Yorktown up to two o’clock of the 8th, at which time nothing important had taken place; is the same veracious gentleman who furnished the London *Times* with that “perfectly reliable account” of the railway horrors in Georgia? or peradventure, the Quixotic knight of rebellion, who has written a book to bolster up what all the rebel leaders themselves know to be a lie, “The Right to Secede”?

And further, oblige your very constant readers by informing them whether the *Times* holds to the opinion that Bonaparte won the battle of Waterloo.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 23rd, 1862.

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE AMERICAN WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—MR. Gladstone, in his speech to the Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, says, "There was a demand upon us from America at the outset of this deplorable struggle for what was called sympathy. Well now what was the meaning of that demand? Why, if I understand it, it was this, that we should take such a course by our language and our acts as would place these six millions of people, or ten millions of people, of the South, in permanent hostility to us. In directing our sympathies, I imagine also we may have our private opinions about the countenance that has been given in the North to the slave institution; but there is no reason why, on the one side or the other, we should adopt a course of conduct that is to lay the foundation of alienation of feeling and permanent hostility between ourselves and those who may hereafter be a great nation, claiming to enter into peaceful relations with us. The North has undertaken a gigantic enterprise. In forming an opinion of whether it will succeed, let us fall back upon our English experience. We did not fail to conquer in America in the war of the Revolution for want of military successes, but because the heart of the country was set upon separation. If the South is not set on separation, it may be conquered; if set upon separation it is all but impossible that can be effected; but if effected it would be a curse and a misery to

those who effect it. But may the Almighty disposer of events bring the struggle quickly to an end, and may that take place, not which we wish or prefer, but which is for the peace, happiness, and welfare of the inhabitants of that country, be they white or be they black."

In this concluding prayer every loyal person of the North will heartily join. Every one of them would be perfectly resigned to the divine will, could it be known. At present they have a religious conviction that it is the will of the Almighty that this foul rebellion should be put down, and they mean to put it down, and will put it down.

Mr. Gladstone says, at the outset the North demanded our sympathies. He does not say that they demanded our acts, as he afterwards insinuates, nor would it have been true; nor is it critically true to say they demanded our sympathies. Unquestionably they expected our sympathies. In their ovation to the Prince of Wales, the people of the North buried all animosities, never, as they supposed, to be revived. They regarded England as a great and magnanimous nation; a nation ready and willing to do justice to those who were pursuing a just and honourable course; "with all its faults they loved it still," and rejoiced in the opportunity of giving unequivocal evidence of the fact. Being in this position when the rebellion broke out, and knowing that the rebels had not a single grievance, but that the rebellion was for the sole purpose of sustaining and extending slavery; and as the rebels published to the world their intention to make slavery the corner stone of their empire, and an article of their creed that the black was created to be the slave of the white, and knowing that such doctrines were in direct antagonism with those professed and advocated by Englishmen, the North did fully expect the sympathies of England in the contest thus forced upon them. In a letter which I wrote nearly a year ago,* which you read and approved, and which was published in the New York papers, the sinister reflections that had been made upon England to the effect that it would sympathise with

* See page 37.

the slave party were indignantly denied, and the certainty that the sympathies of the English people would be a reflex of their professions, was firmly maintained. That letter remains a standing witness of my desire, however unimportant my efforts on the one side or the other may be, to defend England against what I considered unjust aspersions, though coming from bosom friends and brothers.

The North never stopped to consider what would be for "the interest of England;" whether it would want cotton, or wish to sell goods. It paid the highest compliment that could be paid in never doubting for one moment *that England's sympathies would go with England's principles*. The South, on the contrary, said that "cotton was king;" that "England's desire for cotton would overcome its hatred of rebellion and slavery." Even recently the rebel Congress, not having a single port that it can open, has enacted that its ports shall be open to all the world (but the United States) free of duty, for no other purpose than the transparent and contemptible one of bribing England to sacrifice principle, and to interfere in the behalf of their rebel Confederacy. A greater insult could not be given.

Now which was right? But for the firmness and high lofty statesmanship of Earl Russell, what would have been the present position? Take Mr. Gladstone as the expositor of the views that would have prevailed. He says, as plainly as words can express, that the North has mistaken England, and the South has judged correctly. That sympathies are not to be given from high and philanthropic motives; that they are not to emanate from principle, but to be given from interested motives. However indefensible the act of rebellion may be, however vile the intentions of the rebels, and notwithstanding their grand object is to establish a permanent slave empire, making slavery the corner-stone of their government, English sympathies are not to be opposed to their success, lest peradventure, England should not stand well with them should they succeed! It cannot be believed that Mr. Gladstone represents English opinion, nor that those who cheered him understood the odious doctrine which he

was, it is to be hoped inadvertently, propounding. It is said that some savage tribes endeavour to propitiate ~~the~~ Evil One, in order that they may fare better when they come into his possession. Is their example to be followed?

It is not the loss of aid which sympathy would have given that annoys the people of the North; they are grieved and vexed in having been, as they think, so completely disappointed in English magnanimity and high tone of character. And who can blame them for taking this view, when the leading journal, read by so many of the people, and giving the tone of opinion to such vast numbers, has, in respect to them, exhibited a baseness and a mendacity almost unparalleled in the annals of journalism.

Mr. Gladstone holds that England should be neutral, yet he and some of his associates, and many other statesmen, have not ceased to encourage the rebels, and to endeavour to discourage the anti-slavery union party. They have patted the South on the back; told the rebels to go on; that they could not be conquered; that the North and the South must be separated; that the republic was broken up; in fact, all the words of encouragement have been used that a prizefighter receives from his backers; while many of the journals following in their wake have used every art to bring the noble-hearted men of the North into disrepute with the people of England. Words cannot fully express the malignity of the falsehoods, nor the infamy of the general course pursued in this respect, especially by the *London Times* and *Morning Herald*.

Mr. Gladstone says, "We may also have our opinion of the countenance given by the North to the institution of slavery," but he dismisses the consideration of the subject with this remark. Well may he do so in addressing the people of Lancashire, the ancestors of many of whom made their fortunes in the slave trade and founded their families upon that success, forcing slaves into the colonies against the wishes of the people, and in opposition to their petitions to the Crown, thereby entailing the curse of slavery upon these same people of the North, referred to by Mr. Gladstone

as having countenanced slavery ! those noble hearts who are now shedding their blood and spending their money without stint or limit, to rid themselves and the world of this accursed legacy. Well may Mr. Gladstone hurry over this matter.

Mr. Gladstone appeals to England's experience in putting down rebellions in proof that this rebellion cannot be put down ; and points to the war of the American Revolution as a case in point. He says, " A country set upon separation can hardly be conquered ; " that " England did not fail in America for want of military successes." This last assertion may be considered a literary curiosity ; it will be noticed presently. The two cases are in no respect analogous. The Americans succeeded because they had real grievances ; causes for rebellion which united them ; because they could in all truthfulness submit the justice of their cause to the great Disposer of events ; because the heart of the people was set, not upon breaking the laws, but on maintaining their constitutional rights ; and moreover, there was no geographical connection with the mother country which indicated that they should be united, but, on the contrary, it was evident that nature intended England and America should form two nations. In the present instance the rebels have no grievance. They lived under laws made by themselves, under a Government which they themselves declared to be the best in the world, and under which they had enjoyed unexampled prosperity and full protection. It was not a rebellion of the people, but of a political clique and slave oligarchy, who duped and cheated the " mean whites " into rebellion by means of calling it secession. When the leaders in this rebellion break down, the people, having no grievance, will leave them and become good Union citizens. Apart from this political clique, and this slave oligarchy, there is no heart in the rebellion. The slave States of Delaware, Maryland, Western Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, are already brought back to the Union, are represented in the Federal Congress, and are performing their part in helping to put down the rebels.

The full rights of citizens at once accrue to the people of the States which return to their allegiance, and perfect equality with their Northern brethren is at once restored. England did not offer this to the colonies. Amongst other evils to which the colonies were subjected, was that of not being allowed to trade with any nation or any people but the mother country. Cannot Mr. Gladstone see the difference between these two cases? But he is also wrong in his history. George III. lost America because his armies had no important successes, but several great defeats. The surrender of Burgoyne's army was a great disaster; the surrender of Lord Cornwallis was a death-blow. At the period of that surrender the royal troops had been driven out of New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, the Carolinas, and the greater part of Virginia. They hardly occupied any ground but New York city, Yorktown, and a portion of Georgia.

If Mr. Gladstone will extend his comparisons, what will he say to the case of Canada, where the people are now more loyal and better affected, if possible, than those of England itself? What will he say to Ireland, to India? Will he point out a single instance where rebellion has not been put down by England, save that of the United States, the loss of which was owing entirely to the superciliousness of "special correspondents," who traduced the American people, representing them to be contemptible, and thereby inducing the minister to send out, in the first instance, 10,000 troops as sufficient, instead of 50,000. With the latter number, the rebellion might have been put down, and on the repeal of obnoxious laws, the people would have wheeled back into loyalty.

Mr. Gladstone says, even should the North succeed, "it would be a curse to them." Will it be a curse to sustain freedom, to uphold the majesty of the law, to preserve the unity of the nation, to maintain the constitution, to prevent the spread of slavery, and provide for the emancipation of the slaves? What does Mr. Gladstone consider worth supporting, and what does he call patriotism? On the other hand, who can show that separation would not be in fact

endless war; that the battles of Europe might not be on American soil; that unchecked slave power would not so demoralise and degrade the slaveholders as to make them a pest to their neighbours and to all nations, and under any circumstances, a curse to humanity and a disgrace to the world. This is a war between slavery and freedom. The South had no intention to separate. The slave oligarchs thought by a formidable show of rebellion, to frighten the North into submission to their demand of the right to extend slavery into all the territories, finally enabling them to extend it throughout the States. The everlasting gratitude of the world is due to the brave hearts of the free men of the North for standing in the breach. Nations yet unborn will praise them.

It cannot be repeated too often that this is a battle between freedom and slavery. It must be fought out to the death; better now than hereafter. The North has the faith to believe that God will declare on the side of freedom; but possibly, in the inscrutable ways of the Almighty, frail humanity has yet further to be punished, and the evil one is to be "allowed to prevail" yet for a season; does Mr. Gladstone therefore, see fit to recommend the people of Great Britain not to allow their sympathies to run in a channel that will "alienate the affections" of this evil power, during the temporary period wherein it is allowed to triumph?

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 28th, 1862.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE *Times* is intolerant of the performance of a good action. It can attribute bad motives, which would hardly occur to one unused to acting upon them. It makes

the treaty with America for the suppression of the slave trade the occasion for a repetition of its charges against the loyal Americans. The baseness of an article on this subject, in its number of the 9th, is equalled only by its puerility.

It commences: "Under secession the Northern States, grown weaker, have been compelled to tolerate, and even bow, to that anti-slavery feeling which had been suspended by the Constitution and the public opinion of the Union, and the right of search which has been so long resisted, has been yielded with readiness. It is secession which has effected this."

The North having for a period of eighty years opposed slavery and advocated in every legal way its abolition, finding itself in a majority in the national councils, through the withdrawal from Congress of pro-slavery members, is "compelled to bow to its own opinion," to act "contrary to its own wishes," and consequently it is to have no credit for this action, but the credit is to be given to those who have withdrawn and rebelled for the purpose of establishing slavery.

It continues: "It was secession which first suggested buying with State money the freedom of the black; it was secession which rendered it possible to wipe the blot of slavery out of the metropolitan district; and lastly, it was secession which has given us this anti-slavery treaty." Therefore, "huzzah for secession; this is our excuse for upholding the rebellion, for assisting in building up a slave empire." It should have added, let us compel the hypocrites of the North to act contrary to their aims in eradicating slavery and the slave trade.

It is not true that secession first suggested the thought of buying the freedom of the slaves with the national money. That mode of emancipation had long been agitated. It has now been proposed and agreed to, almost at the first moment the North has had it in its power to carry the measure in Congress through the withdrawal of members from the slave States. The same may be said of the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and of the proposal by the Presi-

dent, of this treaty for ~~the~~ more effectual suppression of the slave trade, and its unanimous acceptance by the Senate. Both have been favourite measures of the North for the last sixty years. It is not, however, the right of search which America pertinaciously resisted, that has been acceded to, as represented by the *Times*, but simply the right of search of vessels supposed to be engaged in the slave trade, which the North has always been willing to grant.

The *Times* continues: "Perhaps we shall be told this is a blow dealt by the North against the South. It is no such thing. The slave trade is exclusively a vice of the Northern States. The South detests it, and one of the first acts of the Confederates was a stringent law against it. It was the pious men of Boston, and the humane men of New York who were the owners of the slaves! It was to Cuba the slaves were borne, and not to the South; the wares did not suit the South."

It required the recklessness of the *Times* to utter these monstrous untruths. "The North has purposely given to itself a violent blow. It has voluntarily destroyed a trade in which it delighted. It has done these things by a unanimous vote. The pious men of Boston and New York own the slaves. They sent the slaves to Cuba, because the South detested the trade, and wanted no such wares. The first thing the Confederates did was to pass a law against the trade." Because some unprincipled men, the off-scourings of all nations, have come to America, and secretly, by stealth, and in violation of the law, have prepared and fitted out vessels to be engaged in the slave trade; and because some Americans have been reckless enough, at the hazard of their lives, to assist in these proceedings, pretending to be innocent of any knowledge of the intention, the whole North is to be branded with the guilt, and the "pious men of Boston and New York" are to be charged with being the owners of the slaves and of entering into the slave trade, and this by a journal pretending to be the first in Europe!

It would be as just to call the "pious men" of England "murderers," because they fail to prevent murder. While

the pro-slavery party was in the ascendant, the officials were loose in hunting up suspicious cases, but since the North came into power great exertions have been made ; five vessels have been libelled and condemned, and the only man found guilty of having been engaged in the trade has been hanged. In respect to the South detesting the slave trade, persons there have been agitating for years to re-open it. Those who are constantly trading in slaves cannot detest it very heartily. Several attempts have been made at the South to introduce cargoes of slaves ; they are known to have succeeded once. Before the rebellion however, the most serious charge made against the Americans by the *Times*, and by many others, was that a regular trade was being carried on in Africans, and that their introduction into the Southern States was constant and a matter of notoriety. Many honest abolitionists in England firmly believe in the justice of the taunts and reproaches on this account. Now, as it suits the purpose of the *Times*, it holds that the South "wants no such wares ;" that it "detests the slave trade !" It is also notorious that one of the proposed objects of the rebellion was to open the slave trade. The *Times* knows this perfectly well. It was advocated by many of the principal speakers and writers, and when the rebel Congress at Montgomery, in order to bribe Virginia into rebellion, voted to defer opening the trade (because Virginia bred slaves for the purpose of selling them to the rebel cotton States), South Carolina, the leading State in the rebellion, for this reason, threatened to "secede from the seceders."

The *Times* continues : "The unanimity of the Senate in the matter is very remarkable, because there are men in that assembly who have no hearty love for any measure to put down the slave trade. The recent trials have shown that the slave traders of the North could not exist without the support of the slave owners of the South ! but the Union is impossible, unless on the basis of slavery ; and division is incompatible with the permanent existence of slavery." In respect to the first remark, most persons will accept the unanimous vote of the Senators as proof of their desire to see

the slave trade put down, in preference to the assertion of the *Times* that they voted against their wishes. The *Times* is constantly complaining that the Americans upset all its theories, by acting as they ought not. They vote contrary to their own opinions, and pass acts to which they are opposed. Here is another instance : It is not the *Times* that is in fault, but the Americans, who will act in opposition to their own views. As the "South detests the trade," and as it "cannot be supported without the aid of the South," which aid cannot be had ; and as being engaged in it is punishable with death, one may suppose the Senators cannot have any strong objections to the treaty for the suppression, which they have unanimously adopted ; but how is it that the South was the support of the trade, which it so much detested ? It appears to be in as bad a predicament as the North ; both do things voluntarily, to which their wills are opposed, and which they detest ; certainly they are a very queer people. In respect to the Union being impossible but on the basis of slavery, and division being incompatible with slavery, any one who has noticed the entire failure of the prognostications made by the *Times* during the last twelve months, will hardly require any evidence of the equal worthlessness of these sayings. To others it may be mentioned that this position is taken by that journal simply as an excuse for supporting the pro-slavery rebellion ; and that twenty-four States, combining two-thirds of the population, and seven-eighths of the wealth of the Union, have resolved to get rid of slavery in some way or other, to purge themselves of it, so far as it still exists in any of their borders, and have agreed to pay the other States for their slaves if they will emancipate them. This promises well for total emancipation in the event of re-union. On the other hand, should the ten remaining States establish their Government, as the *Times* proposes, there is not the slightest probability of their ever abolishing slavery. On the contrary, they will extend it and establish it to the Pacific Ocean, unless they are prevented by the North, in a war that would overwhelm them.

The *Times* concludes: "There are two powerful classes who have not yet had enough of the war, the armed hosts who look for a career of pillage, and the great body of debtors who look to an early certainty of being able to pay their debts in a worthless currency." These are calumnies and falsehoods of the blackest dye. The armies of the North are for the most part composed of citizens who have a stake in the country, and whose sole object is to uphold the law, to restore the Union, and to relieve their Southern fellow-citizens from as odious a despotism as ever disgraced humanity. There is not a man amongst them who is looking for a career of pillage. Their motives are as purely patriotic as those of any men that ever buckled on armour. Thousands and tens of thousands of them are men of independent fortunes. In respect to the "debtors" of the North, they are as honest a class of men as ever existed in any country; their only desire being, as a class, to pay everything they owe, to the extent of their means. They have no "worthless money," nor are they likely to have any. When gold is wanted for exportation it bears a premium at this time of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only, but in some cases the legal tender Government money is preferred to gold.

The anti-slavery people of the North had pursued an onward course for a period of ninety years. Commencing before Clarkson and Wilberforce, they have succeeded in abolishing slavery in seven States, in creating twelve free States, in preventing slavery being extended into the Government territories, and in abolishing the African slave trade. They have raised an army of six hundred thousand men, and voted a thousand millions of money to put down a rebellion, inaugurated for the sole purpose of establishing an empire whose "corner-stone should be slavery." They have a Government which is worthily carrying out their wishes. This Government has resolved to pay the States for slaves provided they will emancipate them; it has abolished slavery in the District of Columbia; it has given protection to all slaves fleeing from rebels and seeking the Government care; and finally, it has freely proffered to

England a treaty for the more effectual suppression of the African slave trade.

The *Times* may sneer and rail and scoff, and attempt to palm upon its readers its worthless speculations. Time will show the folly and iniquity of its course. Statesmen and philanthropists, however, will one day do justice to the noble conduct of these worthy sons of the Pilgrims, and their no less noble compatriots and adopted brethren; humanity will be ever grateful to them, and future generations will rise up to call them blessed.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 10th, 1862.

ATTAINDER OF TREASON.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—It is true the Constitution of the United States does not permit of attainder nor forfeiture for treason, but the meaning of these terms is not explained. Bearing in mind that the laws of England prevailed at the period of the adoption of the Constitution, “attainder” must be taken to mean simply corruption of blood to the next generation; and forfeiture to refer only to lands, and to the next generation. This proviso in the Constitution does not protect a traitor from the forfeiture of civil rights, nor of property, either real or personal, *during his lifetime*; nor does property in slaves form an exception. Were the proviso to do so, it would place the traitor in a better position than one convicted of a capital offence, which the law certainly does not intend.

But in reference to the American rebels, it is not necessary to *try them for treason*. The “war power” places in the hands of the Government the right to deal with them

precisely as it would with Turks, Algerines, or others, who might be making war on the Government, viz., to shoot them down and seize their goods and chattels. Because rebelling and making war on the Government has added treason to their iniquity, they are not to escape the penalty attached to any foreign foe. The best American lawyers lay this down clearly. It would be lessening the punishment for the greater crime.

If these views be correct, it follows that attainder of blood, or forfeiture of lands beyond the present generation, is unconstitutional; and that with these exceptions, the Constitution gives all the power requisite to deal with rebels; or, if it in any respect comes short of what is necessary, the war power is ample for all purposes, and consequently no new enactment is needful. These views in respect to new enactments appear to be held by some of the senators, and to be combated by others.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 19th, 1862.

AMERICA AND ENGLAND.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—FEW persons are more mischievous, none more contemptible, than the constant prognosticators of evil. Impertinently assuming superior forecast, they contribute, to the extent of their ability, in bringing to pass events which they affect to deprecate. The *New York Journal of Commerce* says:—"The whole of the American people, North and South, agree in a sentiment of deep hostility to England, which may lead to a war between the two nations in the course of a short period after the rebellion is put down." The *Journal of Commerce* may speak for the rebels,

but is in no respect entitled to speak for the Union people of America. It does well to endeavour to turn the wrath of the rebels against England; for if they and the Unionists ever agree in one thing, it will be in condemnation of the *Journal of Commerce*, and some other journals and persons, who have pursued a similar course. By their secession doctrines, leading the South to suppose that the North was too intent upon gain to oppose rebellion, they contributed to the outbreak, and consequently to the disasters which have come upon the South, and will have to settle a quarrel with the rebels whom they thus deceived. Had the *Journal of Commerce* had its way, slavery now would have been established in America on an enlarged and permanent basis. The Unionists repudiate this journal and its doctrines; they despise its course; they reject its aid; they defy its opposition. If they cannot stand without the aid of semi-traitors they will fall, and at least, fall honourably.

With respect to the feeling of the Union party against England, although it was bitter at one time, it would not have led to war. Moreover, a change is gradually taking place. Evidence of kindness on the part of the Queen; acts of justice by Earl Russell; and manifestations of fair dealing by a portion of the press and some public men, are gradually bringing the people back to that state of feeling which was exhibited in the welcome to the Prince of Wales. The *Times* had been regarded as a British "institution," as the expositor of the sentiments of the British people, and when it lent its aid to break up the republic; when it assisted to the utmost of its ability in the attempt to establish a permanent slave empire; when it wrote "The United States have proved themselves the worst Government in the world, with the worst constitution, the worst policy, the worst social institutions, and the worst theories, sentiments, and ideas;" when it did these things, and wrote these things, the Americans became indignant, and this indignation naturally extended to those whom they considered supported these views and this conduct. But now this is altered. They are learning by experience the utter worthlessness of the

speculations of the *Times* on American affairs; that it represents no considerable portion of the people; that it simply panders to the views of the pro-slavery rebels, and to a small party that would be glad to see the republic broken up. They see the tendency of its political course to be so immoral, that the influence which it once possessed, is gone; therefore, the articles no longer excite a feeling against the people of England. The silly writings in the *Standard*, *Herald*, and *Morning Post*, and some other papers of that class, never have gained much attention, nor caused much resentment, and now, less than ever. They are regarded as the effusions of persons totally regardless and ignorant of the merits of the subject, and in close alliance with the rebels in the attempt to break up the republic. They entertain on this subject, almost as correct a view as persons who reside here on the spot.

The Americans have entered heartily into this war against rebellion, not because they loved war, but because they love peace. Peace is their normal state, and what they delight in; a million Unionists have volunteered for the war, solely for the purpose of conquering a peace; when that is secured, they will fall back into their ordinary avocations, wiser and better men. There may be examples to the contrary, but these will simply be exceptions to the general rule. At the same time, the nation having shown its strength, no exhibition of "spirit" will be requisite to prove its courage, and there will never be another war between England and America, so far as America has a voice in it, until every other mode of maintaining peace has been exhausted. The prophecies of the *Journal of Commerce*, the *New York Herald*, and other papers of their class, are not worthy the slightest attention. The great sober second thought of the sound portion of the people, rules in the free States, and will continue to rule, and the sooner this fact is known and appreciated the better.

The London journals, those of them which have espoused the cause of rebellion and slavery, are affecting to wonder at the action of the American Secretary of the Navy in recon-

sidering the establishment of naval arsenals, the building of gunboats, and the opening of the canals to the lakes, in order to be prepared. They ask where is the danger? Who is to make war upon America? and then affect to show that such preparations have no other origin than the aggressive tendencies and intentions of the Americans.

These shallow and mendacious writers, find it convenient to forget that, only a short month since, they and the *Paris Presse*, the *Independence Belge*, and some others, were asserting for a positive fact, that England and France had determined to interfere, and to sustain the rebels; and because the Secretary of the American Navy takes them at their word, and prepares for the event which they had announced as certain, the Government is to be accused of an intention to make war on England, as soon as the rebellion is over! I, continually and persistently, informed the Americans, that all these representations were false; that England and France had no intention to interfere; that there was the strongest guarantee against it that moral and religious communities could be bound under, viz., *the deep and overwhelming infamy that would attend such a work*. Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston have effectually settled the question, and their speeches will dispel the illusion which these false representations had caused.

England may withdraw every soldier from Canada, and every ship of war from the American seas, without the slightest fear of any ill-consequences therefrom. A vast deal more might be said on this subject, but I fear too much of your space has been already occupied.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 26th, 1862.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—No one can fairly complain of your comments on the letters from America that have been placed before you, but if any of your readers receive the statements in those letters as truthful of the condition of affairs in America, they will labour under most erroneous impressions. It is however, difficult to embody in the space that you could be asked to devote to the subject a detailed refutation of the assertions made by one of the recent writers. Taking it for granted that he desires to adhere to the truth, it must be supposed *that he has been imposed upon*. It may be stated, without offence, that Englishmen, especially untravelled Englishmen, are apt, on going abroad, to consider themselves the representatives of the majesty of Great Britain, and often to assume airs that attract the attention of practical jokers. This class of humourists is common in America, in publichouses, public conveyances, and in places generally where travellers resort, and they think it excellent sport to cram any one exhibiting conceit, and who is willing to be crammed. Witness the feigned duelling on the Georgia railroad, and the story imposed on Mr. Russell of the desire of the South Carolinians to have a Guelph to reign over them. It is charitable to suppose that the writer referred to, has fallen into this kind of company: but to deal with the remarks.

The New York press comments freely and fully upon every subject whatever, save that of giving aid and comfort to, and publishing information that might benefit the enemy. The restrictions, even in this respect, were not imposed until called for by the people themselves, and the press itself. It must not be lost sight of that the Government is the people's Government, and for the most part adopts measures in accordance with the views of the people. Unless the Government had been very lenient, with respect to the

restrictions, it would not have permitted the publication of such papers as the *Herald* and *Journal of Commerce*; papers at one time encouraging secession, and at another time endeavouring to favour the rebels by attempts to embroil the nation with Great Britain. Even now these papers are prophesying future wars; a most impertinent proceeding in any case, but especially so when predicated upon falsehood. The restrictions referred to are practised by all Governments, and would be by Great Britain, in dealing with a much less rebellion than one which the persons who attempt to deprecate these restrictions, declare "*cannot be put down.*" The Government of the United States is in this matter performing an indispensable duty, and in a wise and lenient manner. Complaint of its action simply exhibits a puerile, maudlin sentimentality, and those who cannot avoid it should sojourn amongst the rebels, and not amongst the high-toned citizens of the North.

The writer says, he "is obliged to withhold certain important information, until he can post his correspondence from some other place than New York." If the Government has had information that he is assisting the rebels, it is just possible he may be watched, and his letters examined, but my belief is that *he* may talk any amount of treason in New York, and post a shipload of letters to England, full of treason, without the slightest notice being taken of him, or of his letters.

The writer continues: "Not only is the press enslaved and the Habeas Corpus Act virtually suspended, but people are so fearful of personal risks, that they no longer comment upon the arrests of their neighbours. At a dinner party, comprising some important political personages, *I was seriously told* that I was the only person present whose sudden incarceration would give rise to more than a passing remark, and this because my release would be demanded by the British Government." Kindly refer to the remark at the commencement of this article, and you will be convinced that *American humour* had fallen in with a full-fledged victim. Gullibility could hardly be more fully developed.

In another place the writer represents, that "at the North every man fears to talk with his neighbour;" consequently it is to be inferred that in this ample field of treason, with the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, and with this activity on the part of Government to search letters and to make arrests, the prisons are everywhere full of victims. *Of course they are*; but what will your readers say, when they are told that there is not one single person under arrest throughout the whole of the Union States, save for a military offence, and so few of the latter within the Union borders, they may be counted on the fingers. Does not this dispose of the whole of this silly twaddle at a blow? It is believed to be literally true without a single exception. Rely upon it that the American Government cares no more for the writer, nor for what he may say, than Queen Victoria does for me.

The writer "confirms the report of the absence of Union sentiments, and of the prevailing hatred and dislike of the people in the places that have been captured;" but he has not visited those places; he has had no communication with the rebels; he obtains his information from the Northern papers, or from the sources (second-hand) from which they derive their information; and therefore, he is in no better position to judge than we, who read all the papers, and are fully informed on the subject. He continues by quoting the saying which the secessionists of London are driven to as a last resort, and which is now on the tongue of every rebel, in connection with "dying in last the ditch," viz., "the South may be conquered, but cannot be subdued." Of course it cannot. Who wishes to subdue it? To conquer it will be sufficient. The malignant spirit of man has never yet been subdued; and the American rebels are not going to favour the world with an example of humility. Such as escape the gallows may wear out a miserable life in venting harmless curses upon the abolitionists; but with respect to the States not being brought back into the *Union*, what is to be said of the example of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Western Virginia? all now good Union States; soon to be followed by North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas;

and within a moderate period, whenever the Government can establish sufficient forces to protect loyal citizens, all the cotton States will drop back into the Union, at which none will rejoice more than many of the people of those States themselves. The rebel authorities of Nashville, Norfolk, New Orleans, &c., are, as a matter of course, rampant and defiant; but these are easily dealt with. There is everywhere, wherever the Government authority is established *with a tolerable certainty of being maintained*, abundant evidence of Union feeling. The people of Tennessee *welcome* one of its best citizens as the Union Governor of the State. The people of North Carolina are doing the same; the people of Florida are ready to pursue the same course, and those of New Orleans are manifesting the same disposition. Two squads of rebel soldiers there, of seventy-five men each, voluntarily gave three cheers for the Union and took the oath of allegiance. But it is said "if Davis and Beauregard are defeated, they will retire into the fastnesses of the South, and keep up a guerilla war." This is the pet refuge for rebellion of the *Times*, *Morning Herald*, and other pro-slavery London prints. Suppose they do, who will they make war upon? from whom will they draw their supplies? evidently upon and from their own people. This will damage them, but will not hurt the Government, nor injure the North; they will soon get tired of that game, and at the worst it will die out with their generation, a short period in the history of a nation; whereas, the establishment of a slave empire, might curse the world for centuries. The Government will hold all the forts, and open all the ports, and if the people please to trade they will have the benefit of it; if they do not, theirs will be the loss. Already, three ships are loading at Liverpool for New Orleans; they will bring back cargoes of cotton, and soon the sweets of peace and of profitable business, will restore full acquiescence in the government rule. Had the people any grievance to complain of, opposition might be longer continued; but they have none, and never have had from the beginning.

The writer says: "The people of the Northern States dis-

trust each other, but speak freely to a foreigner, and the constant tenour of their remarks is that, whenever the war ends, it must terminate in the independence of the South." There are a few rebel sympathisers at the North, perhaps one in a hundred. These would not dare to talk treason to their neighbours for fear of immediate personal chastisement; they might possibly get hold of a gullable Englishman and retail to him their absurd speculations, but there is not a single Union man who entertains the preposterous notion, that the rebels will ever, under any circumstances, succeed in their attempts.

He adds: "There is much talk of wholesale confiscation and hanging, and some of the papers openly advise that the most prominent *democratic leaders* should be got rid of by speedy execution." This is made to apply to the North, and not to persons in open rebellion. My respect for truth overcomes my desire to be courteous, and impels me to say that it is absolutely and totally false.

The writer, not content with dealing with the physical difficulties, must go into the abstruse matter of finance, and he asserts that he "has been assured by moderate and thoughtful persons that eventually neither principal nor interest of the debt will be paid." In the meantime the Government 6 per cent. stock commands 102 in gold, pretty good evidence of the sincerity of those thoughtful persons, if any such there be, who retail into the willing ear of their dupe this insufferable nonsense.

The remaining remarks might be criticised in like manner, but too much time has already been spent in dealing with a tissue of as great absurdities as were ever attempted to be palmed off for facts upon a British public.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 6th, 1862.

THE SOLE CAUSE OF THE REBELLION.

THE TORY PRESS ON INTERVENTION.

From the LONDON AMERICAN, June 7th, 1862.

WE are always glad to hear from the author of the following communication. His earnest and devoted patriotism command the admiration of every Unionist at home or abroad, and his complete knowledge of all matters of importance relating to the United States has been the means of instructing many Englishmen upon the cause of the struggle now going on in his native country. We have a recent acknowledgment of this fact from a high source. While visiting Birmingham to inaugurate the Sturge memorial, on Wednesday of last week, Mr. Bright, in the course of his remarks on the condition of things in America, said :—"Gentlemen, you are favoured in this town above any other town, in having a gentleman among you who understands the subject better than almost any other man in England, and who has written more earnestly, exactly, and better on the subject than any person within my knowledge." Such testimony from such a source must be exceedingly gratifying to Mr. Goddard.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE evils brought upon America by the pro-slavery rebellion can hardly be overstated. Prior to the rebellion the South was enjoying unbounded prosperity. Reposing in peace and security under "the most benign government that ever existed," according to its own acknowledgment; a government over which it had only too much influence; under which the laws were executed only in too great subserviency

to its own views ; its ports open to trade with all nations ; having a constant demand for its valuable products of cotton, tobacco, rice, &c. ; enjoying a continuous cash credit from the North of more than four hundred millions of dollars ; nothing seemed wanting to its universal contentment and happiness.

The philanthropist and statesman could however, perceive, that the curse of an institution, the relic of a by-gone age, which the reformation instituted by Washington and the other sages of his period, had failed to overthrow, and which had become intensified through the cupidity of its people, was sapping the foundations of society, infusing a deadly poison into the very heart and soul of the community, and threatening by its pestilential influence, hourly increasing with gigantic strides, to involve not only the lands where it was legally established, but also the free States of the North, in irrepressible ruin, both for time and for eternity.

Under these circumstances the slaveholding oligarchs of the South instituted a bloody rebellion, drawing the unwary into their toils under the specious pretence of seceding constitutionally. They essayed to break from the North, not because the North had imposed this curse upon them, not for the purpose of getting rid of the curse, but in order to hug it more closely, and to revel in its atrocities. They saw that notwithstanding the poison which had been infused into the North by the deadly scourge of slavery, there was still virtue enough there to push onward in the march of freedom, and eventually to crush it out, unless its bounds could be extended ; unless it could be carried into the territories, where the action of good men could not reach it, until it had become strong enough to defy counter legislation and to laugh to scorn the outraged feelings of the Christian world.

Consequently, they demanded the right to carry slavery into those territories ; to extend this hell-born institution into new lands, twenty times larger than England ; an act directly opposed to that constitution which all had gloried in, and which had so greatly contributed to the national

prosperity and happiness. This demand the North, to its everlasting honour, absolutely refused, and hence the rebellion.

Had the North yielded to the demand, had it for its own ease, comfort, or profit, slunk from the issue thus forced upon it; had its people, with craven spirit, yielded to these designs, it would have received and fully deserved the execrations of every civilised community, and what is of immeasurably more importance, it would have been overwhelmed, as its best men fully believed, by the just indignation of an overruling Providence.

The rebels made no secret of their intentions. No one can plead ignorance of them; those who espouse their cause do so with a full knowledge that their object was to found an empire the corner-stone of which should be slavery, and eventually to embrace in it the whole Southern portion of North America and the contiguous islands. In Parliament assembled, they boldly declared this to be their aim, and that permanent slavery was to be the bond of their union. Whoever sympathises with them, whoever aids them, directly or indirectly, is assisting in rendering slavery permanent, and is as much a party to the diabolical designs, as they are themselves.

The North had no other resource than to accept the issue, and to meet the rebels upon the ground they had chosen. There was no escape that they could accept; and the rebels, and they alone, are responsible for all the horrors brought upon the nation and upon humanity. Whoever thinks to the contrary, is deceived; whoever asserts to the contrary, asserts what is false.

Now what is the result of this rebellion up to the present time? comparatively universal ruin of the South. The rebels have with their own hands brought upon their own communities an amount of suffering unequalled in modern times. Thousands of their citizens have been driven from their homes; vast numbers imprisoned; many whipped and subjected to all kinds of insult and indignities; thousands forced into the armies at the point of the bayonet, and great num-

bers hanged, shot, or butchered, and all because they desired to be loyal to the Government of their own choice, and against which neither they nor any one of their community had a single cause of complaint. Property has been destroyed, houses burned, and acts of vandalism have been committed by the rebels, upon their own people, that will shock humanity and astonish the world, should they ever be fully revealed. In addition to these horrors inflicted by themselves upon their own citizens, the natural result of the war which they have made upon the North, is the entire destruction of their trade, depriving them of the luxuries and many of the comforts and necessities of life; grass is growing in the streets of their busiest cities; their sons are dying from intemperance, disease, and the sword, by tens of thousands; some places are threatened with famine, and the North is at the present time literally sending ship loads of provisions to distribute gratuitously among the starving poor, in towns which have come into its possession. Eastern Virginia, the birth-place of Washington, the "Mother of Presidents," the time-honoured land of illustrious men, is ruined and dishonoured. America owes to the world an apology for this rebellion, and these barbarities. Is it the result of their form of Government, the fruit of their dogma, that "all men are born free and equal?" Certainly not, in any one respect. It is simply the result of slavery; it is the result of that dogma not being enforced. Look at Massachusetts where it is a living principle, and contrast Massachusetts with South Carolina, where it is repudiated both in respect to the white and the black; and then judge.

Nor do the inflictions upon humanity end with the South. Mourning is carried into every town of the North; trade is interrupted; the innumerable blessings of peace are replaced by the innumerable evils of war. The industrial pursuits of England, France, and Germany, are embarrassed; distress, possibly starvation, visit thousands of homesteads; the miseries yet in store cannot be reckoned; and the whole of these horrors, these miseries, these inflictions, are brought upon the world by the insane ambition of a few reckless

unprincipled men, for the purpose of maintaining their political power through the extension of slavery. Every iota, every jot, every tittle of the blame, rests with them.

The *London Standard*, which, with the *Herald*, and some other London papers of the like calibre, together with that veracious publication, the *Independence Belge*, have lent their feeble aid to the rebels in the cause of slavery; finding all its efforts of no avail, finding its hopes of establishing a slave monarchy likely to be disappointed, finding the rebels succumbing at all points, finding the ports gradually opening to trade, and the whole coast from the Chesapeake to the frontiers of Mexico, shortly to be free to the commerce of the world; makes an expiring effort to arouse England and France, not to aid the rebels, not to interfere in the quarrel, but simply, "by right of their friendly relation with the American Government, to say this quarrel shall go no further!" After having abused the American Government in every way, the *Standard* comes in with a mock humility that would be simply ludicrous, but for its viciousness, and recommends the British Government to plead its friendly relations with that of America, in justification of its right to step in between the combatants. And what advice does the *Standard* propose to be given? Is the Government to recommend the rebels to lay down their arms? to inform them that cotton is not king; that however fond Great Britain may be of wealth and power, it is fonder of honour; that the insult offered to it, in the supposition that it would allow pecuniary consideration, or any considerations whatever, to overcome its principles, would never have been overlooked for one moment, but for the fact of its being aware that slavery has rendered the rebel mind incapable of a just conception of the intensity of the insult offered? Does the *Standard* recommend a work of this kind? By no means. On the contrary, Lord Lyon is to say, My good friends and brothers, you must leave off fighting and allow the rebels to have their own way. You must indulge them in their little whim, in their wish to establish a slave empire. We want cotton, and it is past endurance that our

interests should suffer, in order that you should sustain your nationality and put down slavery. We know it is a battle between freedom and slavery, but perish freedom, and long live cotton !

This is what Lord Lyon is to say, but let the *Standard* speak for itself, it goes on : “ Are these brothers to persist in tearing each other’s throats, *against the interests of France and England*, without any friendly power interposing to separate them ? Forbid the infamy ! The South has resolved to be free. The South cannot be subjugated. The war may go on for a year. The staple of our greatest manufacture is lost. One of the chief sources of French trade is lost. No sound territorial principle is to be accomplished. No good principle of any kind is to be accomplished. The right to subdue by force of arms, does not apply when the seceding States have the right to separate, and when final conquest would lead to no pacific conclusion. It is well established that the reliance of the rebels was their indispensable power in the cotton market of Europe ; in their belief that England and France would never permit the ruin of their trade with the North and the South, and that the whole civilised world would interfere to prevent the tyrannical coercion of a free people, *into adopting institutions which they had rather die than receive*. From the beginning to the end, the British ministry has pursued a dastardly policy.”

Thus the whole question is prejudged, and the friendly interposition is for no other purpose than to say, “ This Slave Empire must and shall be established.” This insufferable twaddle would not deserve, nor receive, the slightest notice, but for the fact that there are persons ignorant enough on this subject, or weak enough, to be influenced by it. It will be seen that the infamy of tearing throats, consists in its being opposed to the interest of France and England ; that the *Standard* is especially regardful of the interests of France, for which, no doubt, the Emperor will be much obliged ; that the right of secession is reaffirmed, after having been set aside by every lawyer, every statesman,

who has examined into the matter, a right that has never been believed by any of the rebel leaders, but preached simply to entice simple-minded people who would have shrunk from rebellion ; a right which is not now entertained by any one person with a single grain of sense who is informed on the subject.

That the principle of not permitting slavery to be extended into territories comprising an area twenty times larger than England is not worth upholding ; that the principle of not permitting the establishment of a Slave Empire over a region more than forty times larger than England, is not worth supporting ; or, that the getting rid of the present slavery is not worth accomplishing, can be upheld only by the most unyielding advocate of slavery. It will also be seen that the South relied upon England and France abjuring their professed principles, upon their yielding fame and honour to their desire for cotton, and that in not meeting these expectations, "the British Ministry has pursued a dastardly feeling." And what means the nonsense of "coercing a free people into the adoption of institutions which they had rather die than receive?" Their institutions were of their own choosing and own making ; none other were ever proposed to them, save that the moral sentiment of the North was urging upon them the institution of freedom instead of slavery ; and because the North had not urged it with more pertinacity, because it had not insisted upon it, because it had not even gone the length of taking up arms to enforce it, it had been, prior to the rebellion, more blamed, taunted, and insulted, by the British press, than for all other reasons put together. Perhaps, when the British Minister calls on Mr. Seward on his friendly errand, he may be the bearer of the *Standard's* programme : it will effectually save the trouble of negotiation.

This writer in the *Standard* must be of imported stock. He has not learned the stuff that Englishmen are made of, or else must ignore the apothegm that what English blood can and will do on one side of the water, it can and will do on the other side. Does he think the descendants of the

Puritans, and their equally valorous brethren in arms, after the sacrifices they have made, indeed under any possible circumstances, are going to permit the pro-slavery rebellion to establish itself; are going to permit the curse of slavery, the deadly miasma which was battling to infuse itself even through the whole North, to be extended and perpetuated? are going to permit a rebellion, unequalled in atrocity since the creation of the world, to succeed? The mind of the man who entertains such a supposition, is too shallow for any possible measurement.

The *Standard* adopts the last despairing cry of the rebels, who now admit that they will be driven to "the last ditch;" "we may be conquered but cannot be subdued." Who wishes to subdue them? They are merely required to lay down their arms, and to come under the protection of a Government of their own choosing, "the most benign Government in the world," with the privilege of selling their slaves to the Government at a handsome price. No doubt some of the more violent of the rebels, such as escape hanging through the tender mercies of President Lincoln, may nurse their malignity. But suppose they do; suppose they retire, even in vast numbers, into the fastnesses of the country, and institute a guerilla war, as recommended by the *Times*, who will they make war upon? Evidently upon their own people. From whom will they draw their supplies? Evidently from their neighbours. Having no revenue, they must live by plundering their own fathers, brothers, and relatives. And for how long and for what purpose is this to continue? It would be sad no doubt, but would not harm the North, nor the Government. Even should such a course be pertinaciously insisted in, how long would it be before such a rabble, with accumulating diseases from exposure, privations and intemperance, would die out? At the worst they could continue but to the natural age of man; many would no doubt acquire the honour of "dying in the ditch."

But with respect to the course that will be taken by the great body of the people, analogy is the best guide in

forming an opinion. Already, Missouri, Kentucky, most of Tennessee, and all Western Virginia, have come into the Union, and are good Union States. North Carolina and Florida are about to follow, and Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, will not be long after them. The Union feeling is sufficiently manifested, wherever the Federal authority appears to be permanently established. That the rebel authorities in the towns occupied, should bluster, need cause no surprise. They *must keep up appearances* lest they should be hanged in the event of the rebels coming back. This is the secret of many of these manifestations; but persons who "cannot be subdued," and who are prepared to "die in the last ditch," must be permitted to growl; moreover it is a good sign, for growlers seldom do anything worse. In the meantime, while the guerilla raids are going on, the ports of the whole coast from the Chesapeake to the frontiers of Mexico will be opened to trade with all the world. If the people choose to trade they will have the benefit of it; if they do not the loss will be their own. There cannot however be any reasonable doubt that within a moderate period after the ports are opened, trade will resume its accustomed course; nor that the people for the most part will fall back into a state of satisfaction and contentment. There will be no reason why they should not do so. They will have no grievance to complain of; they will have their full share in the Government, and will enjoy every right that the most favoured people in the world enjoy. Already three ships are loading in Liverpool for New Orleans; these will bring back cargoes of cotton; soon the sweets of commerce and of peace will be felt, and the great difference between this state of things, and that of being driven to war at the point of the bayonet by slave oligarchs, who care no more for the common people than a Turkish bashaw does for his slave, will soon be felt, and cannot but reunite nearly all classes to the wise government of President Lincoln.

When it is considered that within a period very short in comparison with the history of England, say within 200 years, the American States will contain 300 millions of in-

habitants, all speaking the same language, professing one common religion, directed, controlled, and stimulated by the same literature; the importance of not only preventing the extension of slavery, but of devising a plan for the early emancipation of the persons now held in slavery, cannot be over-estimated. Providence has placed in the hands of the North, by means of this rebellion, the opportunity of accomplishing this object, and it will accomplish it, if there be no interference by other nations. Even with that interference, it will be accomplished, but at a much greater cost of blood and treasure. The man who would not stand up in defence of measures that are to effect such a consummation, is unfit for civilized society. The abolition of slavery in the United States would shortly be followed by its abolition throughout the world. It would thrill through the veins of universal humanity. It would everywhere gladden the heart of man. It would do more to promote civilization and Christianity than all other means that could be adopted. Slavery was the most subtle device ever invented by Satan to debase and ensnare man. The abolition of slavery would have far greater results in contributing to universal peace and goodwill, and in hastening the period of universal brotherhood, than any other event within the last 1,800 years. The pro-slavery advocates need not hope to induce the Governments of England and France, to stand in the way of this glorious consummation. The Emperor of France, and Earl Russell, will be true to their declarations at the opening of the respective Parliaments. If the Powers of Europe are desirous to shorten the war, they will inform the rebels that no assistance, directly or indirectly, will be given to them. This will be the most effective course they can take in the interests of peace.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 7th, 1862.

THE SITUATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE meagre accounts received to-day hardly enable one to judge of the movements going forward. At the first sight, my indignation was very much excited by the fact of General Banks having been left with but 4,000, to retreat before 15,000, to his starting point on the Maryland side of the Potomac, while the Government had plenty of troops within call, with which he might have been reinforced.

On further consideration, I think it may have been an act of strategy to send the greater part of his force to General McDowell, who was pushing on to Richmond to the assistance of General McClellan, and with a small body (4,000), to allure away from Richmond a large body of rebels which might otherwise have fallen back to its assistance. I do not say this was so, but it would have been good policy, and quite in unison with McClellan's forethought; but if it is not so, if it be an unlooked for disaster, then some one deserves severe punishment.

I am glad not to hear of any important move on the part of McClellan to day. He should wait, and probably is waiting, to get his artillery, which is very superior, forward and into position; to give time to the gunboats to silence and pass Fort Darling, as they probably will do; to enable McDowell to come up from Fredericksburg on the North, and for Burnside to close in from the South. If McClellan does wait for these events, he will get the rebel army into such a position that rapid flight or surrender will be its only alternative. McClellan ought not to bring on a battle until McDowell comes up. I suppose McDowell has now 40,000 men, and this force is a part of the army with which McClellan undertook to attack Richmond.

One statement to-day, is that McDowell had advanced six miles from Fredericksburg, and had reconnoitred fifteen

miles beyond, thus being within thirty miles of Richmond. Another account says he had advanced from Manassas. This cannot be Manassas Junction; that would be falling back forty miles. I am quite satisfied with the present position of McClellan, if he will only wait for his gunboats, for McDowell and for Burnside to come up. Banks's retreat, even if not intended, is of no further importance than being disgraceful to some one.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 8th, 1862.

THE "INTERVENTION" QUESTION.

To the EDITOR OF ARIS'S GAZETTE.

SIR,—I BEG to thank you for the article on intervention. It is the best article I have seen. I feel sure it enunciates the right doctrine. I will turn out at any time with gun and bayonet to fight in defence of old England, but I will fight equally against a policy that I know will bring discredit upon her, and I know that for England and France to step in and say, "These rebels must have their own way, they must be permitted to establish a slave empire," would not only occasion a war, that might not end in our time, but would entail disgrace that would not be overcome for ages.

There is no doubt much bitter feeling in America; but I tell you that there is nothing in this world that the North Americans desire more than peace with England, and that when this rebellion is put down, there will never be war between the two countries for a century. It was the slave party in America that joined the ultra-Jacobins of France, in 1793, and got up against Washington and Hamilton, the anti-English feeling, which finally led to the war of 1812,

although other causes came up. The freemen of the North desire above all things, peace; 1,000,000 of them have volunteered for war, *solely to ensure peace*. They will not accept a premeditated, determined insult, and will never offer one; therefore if England wishes, peace will be preserved.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 13th, 1862.

THE WAR IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—I DO not object to the remarks of your adverse correspondents. It may please them to find fault, and does me no harm. One who writes upon an exciting topic must in any case be prepared for adverse criticism; but when engaged in a cause more deeply interesting, perhaps, than all other questions before the world, he should be prepared to face any and all opposition. I have written for the purpose of stating truths, not to please your readers; I have had however, abundant evidence of not having failed even in that. Generally speaking, those who shun argument and resort to abuse, show both their own weakness and the weakness of their cause.

“A Constant Subscriber,” who writes in to-day’s *Post*, says my statements in last Saturday’s paper, that “the rebels are hemmed in and cut off from their supplies,” and that “the rebellion is at its last gasp,” are “palpably false.” I think they are *substantially* true. That the usual sources of supply are cut off, is a matter of certainty. It is almost equally certain, that South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, to which they must now look, and which have usually drawn their meat and bread from the Western States, cannot support large armies for any lengthened period; and I

will venture to say that any board of experienced military men who will examine the position of the Rebel and Union forces, taking also into consideration their resources, will unhesitatingly sustain my assertion. The Union generals may commit blunders, and the war may be prolonged, and the rebellion drag on for some time; but as for any prospect the rebels have in succeeding in their design of establishing an independent slave empire, there is none. Few persons, perhaps, feel more interested in the result than *I* do; and I can say, that I am quite satisfied with the present position. If any pro-slavery sympathiser can say as much for his party, he is satisfied with very little.

Your correspondent "doubts if there are many Englishmen, except such as our junior* member of Parliament, who will persistently sympathize with a people whose generals issue such infamously *cruel* proclamations as that of the Federal General Butler." This is simply maudlin clap-trap. The Federal generals have in all instances, with this one exception, observed the most humane course. No complaint, to my recollection, has been made against them in any of the Southern towns they have occupied. On the contrary, their course has elicited the highest praise, and while exposed in many cases to the gratuitous insults of females, their course towards them has been marked by extreme forbearance and politeness. This is universally acknowledged. General Butler, in the haste of the moment, penned two ambiguous lines, the meaning of which was merely that women insulting soldiers should be liable to arrest and imprisonment; but these lines so far as construed offensively were at once repudiated by the whole American press, thus showing that they were no sample of the course generally taken by the American generals. Because a Union general has fallen into an error, which, however, has done no harm to anyone but himself, the sympathies of Englishmen are to be given to those who hold four millions of human beings in bondage, to those who are fighting to rivet their chains,

* Mr. Bright.

and to extend slavery far and wide. Your correspondent will find about twenty-five millions of people in Great Britain and Ireland, who will follow the honourable member for Birmingham into the lobby on this question.

General Butler, notwithstanding the outcry, was adopting a most humane course. He had distributed 1,000 barrels of provisions to the suffering poor at New Orleans; he was taking every step in his power to relieve the distressed, and to protect all classes; and at the north, ships were loading with provisions to be distributed gratuitously, among the necessitous in that city. It is notorious that the hardships suffered by Southerners from the rebels, are as one hundred to every one, inflicted by Northern generals; these have in almost all cases erred on the side of lenity.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 18th, 1862.



MEDIATION.

To the LONDON AMERICAN.

It is not at all an uncommon trick in controversy, to employ a leading word or phrase in such a way as to cover a great deal more than it would naturally convey, and by this means secure for it a much wider acceptance than it would receive, were its meaning plainly and unreservedly stated. This is just now the case with the word "Mediation," so frequently repeated in the columns of the press. Formerly, it was "intervention," but it was found that this would not do, so recourse is now had to the term "Mediation," meaning the old thing under a new name. It is designed, and not altogether unsuccessfully, to catch the

support of certain amiable and well-meaning, if not very intelligent persons, who regard the conflict now waging, simply as a war between fellow-countrymen and fellow Christians. No doubt war, and especially civil war, is horrible, but bad as it is, there are some things even worse. It is worse, for instance, that men without legitimate provocation, should seek to destroy "the most beneficent Government the world ever saw," according to their own admission, and to pull down the edifice which has sheltered them and their fathers, introducing anarchy and violence in the place of order and obedience to a lawful Government, elected by, and responsible to the people, and it is worse that there are four millions of slaves, the "chattels personal," of white-skinned men, calling themselves Christians. It would be worse, infinitely worse, that twenty millions of freemen should be so lost to all manliness, and honour, and patriotism, that they should tamely allow this slaveocracy to cause the disruption of their country, and the establishment on its territory of an empire, recognising, and boastfully proclaiming, the God-and-man accursed institution of slavery, as its "foundation" and "corner-stone."

War is indeed a great offence, but we join with the Scripture affirmation that the guilt and woe rest upon those by whom that offence has come. Two years ago, the people of the United States were living in peace, the constitution was respected, the laws were obeyed. Mr. Lincoln was constitutionally elected President; immediately the slave power at the South, finding that the people would no longer submit unreservedly to its authority, prepared for rebellion. The national forts were seized, its arsenals plundered, its ships and treasures stolen, the national flag fired upon, and the capital threatened. Under these circumstances, should President Lincoln have broken his oath to uphold and maintain the constitution, and for the sake of peace and quietness, allowed the rebel flag to be planted on the White House, and a slave auction opened on the premises? Thank God, he did not so read his duty! Thank God, the free men of the North have better shown their mettle and their breeding

than to allow the traitorous designs of the slaveocracy to be carried out.

The *Times* and the Tory press, under the guise of a mock mediation, seek from European powers, a recognition of the rebel Confederacy. Those who use that cry should be at least consistent. What would they have said, if at the time of the Canadian rebellion, the Americans had offered "mediation" in this sense? Or, if France had done so, when O'Connell was rallying around him at public meetings half a million of men for the repeal of the Union? Or, if either had sought to "mediate" in behalf of the rebels during the Indian rebellion? They might have done so with better reason. The rebels in the United States have not been invaded and plundered and made the helpless victims of half a century of oppression; they have not been governed from abroad by a people of alien race, language, and religion; and while practising atrocities, unparalleled in modern days, except at Cawnpore, the Generals of the United States have not blown prisoners from the cannon's mouth.

There are some we believe, especially if it interfered with their trade, who would have sought to "mediate" between the Almighty and Satan, when the latter made war in Heaven; who would have recommended that he should be "allowed to secede quietly," and have urged that "there was plenty of territory for both." There are questions in which "mediation," in the sense in which the word is now used, is utterly inadmissible, in which there is no middle ground for compromise.

But, it is asked, can nothing then be done to stay the effusion of blood, and bring cotton to our starving operatives? Well, we are not sanguine of the result, but let those who have faith in it, make the experiment; let them do it in a proper way, let them go to those who have provoked and commenced the war, and say to them:—

"You are engaged in a wanton, causeless, hopeless rebellion. You are guilty of treason to your country and to humanity; you have in your lust of power caused the slaughter of many innocent lives, and the wanton destruc-

tion of much property ; you have brought misery and ruin to thousands of homes in your own country and in other lands, and you have yourselves already reaped some of the results of your misdeeds. Why continue this unnatural rebellion ? Lay down your arms, disband your regiments, give freedom to your slaves, return to your allegiance, and trust to your Government for that clemency you have so often experienced. If you deem, as well you may, that your crimes have been too many and too great for pardon, then indeed it may be well to solicit in your behalf some friendly power to 'mediate' between the righteous indignation of your Government and the punishment you have so richly merited ; and we have no doubt that to such friendly remonstrances, if needed, the Government of the United States will lend a favourable ear."

CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

INTERVENTION.—GENERAL M'CLELLAN'S MOVEMENTS.

From the LONDON AMERICAN, of July 16, 1862.

ALL sides should be treated with deference. Whatever may have been the motives of other Americans for refraining from meeting their countrymen on the anniversary of their National birthday, no one who knows the writer of the following, would for a moment think of charging it upon him as an evidence of lukewarmness. The services which he has rendered his country have been of too much consequence to permit any suspicion to rest for a moment upon his motives. So far as the American Minister is concerned, we believe that he followed the dictates of his own judgment in absenting himself on the occasion referred to. However

much our people might have desired his presence, he had as good a right as any to make his choice of the manner in which the day ought by him to be remembered. We should never forget that it is our duty to accord to others the privileges which we arrogate to ourselves; recognition of equal rights is the first principle of the American Republic.—[EDITOR.]

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—I PROTEST against the assumption that Americans who abstained from attending the celebration of the Fourth of July, at the Crystal Palace, are lukewarm in the cause of independence, or recreant to an illustrious ancestry; and especially do I protest against the allusion made to the absence of the American Minister. I think it was unjust, in bad taste, and ought not to have been reported. Our countryman says many excellent things and is generally to be supported, but his zeal sometimes leads him to say things that had better be omitted. I will admit that the senseless pro-slavery sympathizing gabble that one hears, is enough to disgust one with mankind, and to drive one nearly mad; but still, Americans have a great duty to perform and must keep cool, their conduct at the present time being destined to make a mark on the future of mankind. The representative of a family which has been for generations devoted to the cause, and which has done more for American freedom than almost any family, not excepting even that of Washington, is not to be precluded from exercising his own judgment, and if an American diplomatist be a servant of the people, so is he at the same time the independent arbiter of his own actions, and in that independence consists his value. For myself, I honour all those who attended the celebration in furtherance of what they thought a duty, but I know that many have no heart to make merry over anything, nor to join in any convivial gathering, while the great work before them of putting down the rebellion, thereby sustaining a

glorious nationality, rescuing the black from a cruel bondage, upholding the great and immortal right that "all men are born free and equal," vindicating God's rule on earth, remains unaccomplished. We have hung our harps upon the willows; but if we forget America and the cause there upheld, may our right hand forget its cunning, and our tongue cleave to the roof of the mouth. In respect to Northern secessionists, if there be such creatures, they may well be left to the condemnation of their consciences. A Southern rebel who stakes his life upon the cast, however unprincipled, carries a manhood about him that commands some respect, but a Northern pro-slavery sympathiser, is too contemptible a person to be tolerated in any way.

The American papers are speculating on the possibility of English and French intervention between the Government and the rebels. They quote from the *Independance Belge*, the *Paris Presse*, the *London Herald*, *Post*, and *Times*, but you may assure your American readers that there is not the slightest chance for intervention. The articles in these papers are entirely worthless; they are the offspring of ignorance and maliciousness, and are too foolish and childish to be entitled to the least possible attention. There will be no intervention. The Emperor of France has never intended to interfere at all; the stories to the contrary have been invented. Many persons in England would like this Government to interfere, but there is no danger of it; for besides the great expense and immense losses it would entail, the deep infamy of it would be greater than any nation dare encounter. The Americans will be more astonished at the Lord Brougham somersault, than at anything else that has occurred recently, but it will require a separate article to show his inconsistencies. The inference at present is, that he has advocated slavery abolition heretofore, rather because the subject was thrust upon him, and because it pleased his vanity to make much of it, than from principle.

It appeared by the American accounts to the 25th, that General McClellan had withdrawn the most of his right wing from the north side of the Chickahominy, and was

concentrating his army upon the left, to the south of Richmond, and therefore the remnant upon that side of the river, which was attacked by the rebels on the 26th and 27th, must have fought with astonishing tenacity. General McClellan could not reinforce them without bringing on a general action for which he was not ready, and the final withdrawal of them would be merely in continuation of the plan, which had not been quite completed. He will attack and occupy Richmond from the south; first taking Fort Darling and bringing up the gunboats; then, if General Burnside comes in upon the south-west, and General Pope, with Fremont's, Banks', and McDowell's divisions, comes down from the North, the rebel army can hardly escape capture or complete dispersion. We shall probably know in ten days. Should McClellan's army be totally defeated, which is hardly within the bounds of possibility, it will simply prolong the war.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 12th, 1862.



THE AMERICAN WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WE hear that “the recent victories gained by the rebels before Richmond have created a profound sensation in London,” and the English press for the most part is jubilant on the occasion. Let it be so; there is no objection to it; only let it be understood that this portion of the press sides with the pro-slavery rebels, and has no real sympathy for the freedom either of the blacks or the whites. If ever there was a war of freedom against slavery, this is one; if ever there was a war which was to test, and to be a final test for at least a century, whether constitutional freedom

with equal rights for man is to be maintained, or whether mankind is hereafter to be ruled by a despotism of the few, this is that war. The question is fairly before the British people; there is no mistake about it, however some may attempt to mystify it; and if they choose to sustain the press in its advocacy of slavery and despotism, let them do so; the Americans will not complain, but they will have it understood fairly and squarely. If the press and the people are "down upon them" on every occasion of their adversities; then they will know how to value their friendship in days of prosperity, mourning however, over the fact, that a people pretending to unbounded philanthropy, will insist upon riveting the chains of the black and in assisting to entail on mankind endless political bondage.

Whatever defeat General McClellan may have sustained, or disaster he may have suffered, *there is at present no evidence of either the one or the other.* The only account we have of any reverse is to the effect that on Thursday, the 26th, the right wing of General McClellan, on the north of the Chickahominy, was attacked by the rebels, and that "the fight continued two days, when General McClellan withdrew his troops across the river." It is then added, "This withdrawal was in pursuance of a previous plan of General McClellan's." Here the telegraph is said to have broken down. The British press at once assumes that McClellan has sustained a great defeat. It says, "the north side of the Chickahominy would not have been abandoned but on compulsion;" and disregarding the interruption of the telegraphic communication, it asserts that "the Secretary of War would not communicate the bad news which he had probably received." Now, letters written from the camp before Richmond, dated Wednesday, 25th, and published in the New York papers the day before the account of the rebel attack of the 26th, and 27th, was heard of, state that "General McClellan had been for several days withdrawing his troops from the north side of the Chickahominy, and had got them nearly all over, his intention being to pass them to the left, and to make the attack on Richmond from the south." The writer being on

the spot, states a fact prior to any attack by the rebels, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of his statement. It would therefore seem that it was but a fragment of the right wing which the rebels attacked, and that as General McClellan could not have supported this position without abandoning his plan of withdrawing his forces from that side of the river, nor without danger of bringing on a general action, which it was not his intention to do at that time and place; that the withdrawal, after two days' fight, was altogether consistent with his original intention, and not owing to defeat. The only thing to be learned from the account up to the present time is this, viz., that if the rebels, in an organized sortie, assisted by the forces under Stonewall Jackson, were held at bay for two days by the rear guard of the right wing of McClellan's army, they are not in a position to make much impression upon his whole force. Twist the accounts in every way one pleases, nothing more nor less than this can be made out of them. General McClellan had gained a very decided success prior to the 25th, in advancing on the left, driving the rebels back, and occupying their position; and this is the only victory we have any account of at present.

It is no doubt the intention of General McClellan to bring his forces suddenly upon James River, at the south of Richmond, to capture Fort Darling, and then bring up his gun boats and occupy the city. If at this period General Burnside comes in upon the south-east, and General Pope, with the divisions of Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, come down from the north, the dispersion, if not capture, of the rebel army would seem to be inevitable.

Letters from New Orleans state that General Butler had succeeded in restoring order. Previous to his arrival in that city no man's life was safe, if out in the evening. It was estimated that there had been more vagabonds lounging about the streets, armed with bowie knives and pistols, than the whole number of his troops. Now the whole thing is changed. Security is felt by all, and great numbers of the respectable portion of the community are holding meetings,

thanking General Butler, and taking the oath of allegiance. It is stated that females may now walk through the city from one part to the other, at any time of day or night, without the slightest danger from insult, and that New Orleans, from being one of the most "rowdy" places on earth, is assuming the appearance, in respect to order and sobriety, of a new England city.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 14th, 1862.

THE PRIVATE TELEGRAM.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOU will notice that the "private telegram" from Queenstown, per Glasgow, is not entitled to the slightest credit. The Glasgow sailed from New York on the 5th, the same day the Jura sailed from Quebec, and the latter brought accounts received at Quebec from New York, per telegraph, as late as those by the Glasgow. At that time accounts had been received from General McClellan up to 5.30, of the 4th, at which time he "had gained his position on the James River, having repulsed every attack of the rebels;" and there had been no fighting after the 2nd or 3rd. This of itself would be sufficient to discredit the report of the great extremity in which he was placed; but the clumsy fabricator of the report did not anticipate that the Jura had stopped at Cape Race, and brought accounts from New York two days later, viz., to the 7th, at which time all was quiet. Moreover, Beauregard was not in command at Richmond, nor was he in command of any of the divisions that attacked McClellan, and consequently, he could not be the person to treat with McClellan as this telegram represents.

It will be found that the rebels had made their grand

assault upon McClellan; that he had effected a most masterly change of position; that he occupied a strong position on the 4th, and when properly reinforced, would be ready to act against Richmond. He had been previously deprived of 60,000 men, and the rebels had been reinforced by 60,000, and therefore, his original lines were too much extended. Had he not foreseen it and decided to contract them, his army might have been cut to pieces. Although now further from Richmond than before, he is in a much better position, and even according to rebel accounts, had inflicted as great loss upon the rebels as he had suffered. Were his army, however, totally annihilated, it would but protract the war. The North can raise and support ten such armies if needs be.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 18th, 1862. .

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WITH your leave I will reply to some of Mr. Thomas's remarks, for although but a repetition of pro-slavery rebel sayings, often refuted, they still obtain credence with many persons who have not an opportunity to examine into the whole subject for themselves.

1st. He says, "This is not a war of freedom against slavery." I reply, the rebellion was instituted by the slaveowners for the purpose of establishing slavery more firmly and upon a permanent basis where it then existed; for the purpose of extending it at the very outset over an additional territory forty times larger than England, to which the free States

denied it admittance ; for the purpose of making it the corner-stone of the Government, adopting the dogma that the black was created to be the slave of the white, and that white labourers are not entitled to a voice in their own government ; and I add that none can desire the success of the rebels, that none can give them aid or succour, directly or indirectly, without becoming abettors of, and parties to, these intentions and these purposes. Further, it was the intention of the rebels to establish a despotic oligarchy ; to introduce for the right of franchise a heavy property qualification, and thus to deprive about three-fourths of the people of their birthright. It was not their intention originally to divide the Union, for misled by their own sanguine braggart temperament, and some venal writers at the North, they did not look for much opposition to their nefarious plans, but hoped, by means of a Northern party which beforetime had been too truckling to them, to obtain acquiescence in their demands, and finally to establish the right to carry slavery into the free States, and consequently to make it universal throughout the Union. It is questionable whether the overthrow of the British constitution, and the establishment of a despotism upon its ruins, would be a greater blow to the rights of man, or a greater scandal to the world, than the success of the rebel slaveowners in their designs.

That slavery is the cause of the war can be shown by indisputable evidence. In the first place it is so regarded by the whole American people both South and North. The most that even Southerners affirm is, that there are collateral circumstances which induce them the more readily to favour secession. In the second place, the "Methodist Connexion," the "Baptist Connexion," and the "old and new Presbyterians," embracing something like two-thirds of the whole people, have in convocations, "conscientiously and solemnly" expressed their "belief that slavery is the cause of the rebellion and of its continuation." Thirdly. On the meeting of Congress in December, 1860, prior to the rebellion, a committee of thirty-three members was appointed, one from each

State, to ascertain what wrongs the Slave States had to complain of, and to endeavour to devise some plan for remedying them. On meeting, the Southern members were requested to give a detailed statement of their grievances. They did so, and every one of them related to slavery; not one of them had any connection with trade. The committee sat two months, and one of them declares to me, that not one of the members, during the whole time, said one word respecting duties on imported goods, or respecting trade, but that the discussions were entirely confined to the subject of slavery. If these three great and overwhelming facts are not sufficient evidence that slavery is the cause of the rebellion and the war, it would be useless to recount others.

It is true that the leading rebels, in order to delude their followers into rebellion, (called by them, by way of a blind, secession,) stated that the prosperity of the North and the comparative adversity of the South was owing to the connection; and that by severing the connection, the latter would become as prosperous as the former. They ignored the fact that the difference between the two sections was simply that between freedom and slavery. The North, no doubt, has made commissions and freights on Southern produce, and so do bankers make commissions, and railways freights; but without Northern money and Northern ships to move the produce to market, it was valueless. The North has supplied the cotton States with a constant cash capital of eighty millions sterling, to enable them to grow cotton, and take it to market! Will the Lancashire men lend the East Indians that sum for that purpose? And when the growth is established, will they justify the Indians in calling them usurers, and in rebelling and refusing to pay? Who is going to lend the money and do the business for the cotton growers so cheaply as the North has done?

2nd. He says, "It is not a war of the people of the North against the people of the South, if by the people is to be understood the virtue and intelligence of the Federal States." The reply to this is, that the whole virtue and intelligence of the free States is engaged in putting down the rebellion.

The exceptions are too insignificant to be taken into account. War is not waged against the South ; the Government knows no difference between the North and South ; the rebels made the war, and the loyal men are confronting them, and will continue to do so until they are put down, if it takes one hundred years to accomplish it, and the world had as well make up its mind to this, first as last. Moreover, a hundred years' war would be a trifling evil compared with the establishment for centuries of a slave despotism, and the treading under foot of God's law, the great law of right. There were some few Northerners, and some miserable foreign residents, who, for the sake of gain, or enmity to the equal rights of man, inclined, in the first instance, to side with the rebels ; but the universal indignation of the people soon convinced them of their error, or scattered them abroad.

3rd. He says that abolition commenced in "the land of witch-burning, after England had abolished slavery in its colonies." Now, attempts to get rid of slavery were made in the provinces as early as 1728 ; they were followed up in 1755, and from that time to the war of independence. Vigorous attempts were made to get rid of it on the formation of the Constitution, in 1787, and from that period until the present rebellion broke out, every argument had been used to induce the emancipation of the slaves. It would not, perhaps, be stretching the truth very much, to say, that one hundred times more has been written and spoken against slavery in America than has ever been written or spoken against it in England. In respect to "burning witches," if your correspondent, instead of sneering at America, would look a little more into history, he would find that persons were put to death in England for witchcraft long before they were in America ; that the idea was not American, but purely of Saxon origin, and also that the persons who condemned witches to death in America, *were English judges, appointed by the Crown of Great Britain.*

4th. He says, "It is not patriotism, but want of employment and the prospect of starvation, that caused the rank

and file of the Northern army to enlist. They prefer to cut Southern throats for a stipend to immolating themselves under the shrine of peace and self-denial." The answer to this is that it is utterly untrue and a foul calumny. No more patriotic men ever arose to sustain a nation's liberties, no more humane or braver men ever offered their lives and fortunes to their country. With respect to property, the rank and file of the armies of the North, would probably buy up the whole fee simple of the rank and file of all the armies of Europe. They came from the pulpit, from the colleges, from the accompting house ;

"They came from plough, from anvil, and from loom ;
They came a country's rights to save,
And speak a tyrant faction's doom."

5th. He says, "that the only chance for America to escape a despotic government is for the South to be successful. If slavery be abolished, Secessia will become a howling wilderness." So the only chance for freedom is to continue and confirm slavery, and to establish the rule of the slave oligarchs. This is precisely their opinion. The King of Naples, the Dey of Algiers, and King of Dahomey have held similar opinions with respect to themselves, and it could be wished that those who sympathize in these opinions were compelled to live under the rule of this latter dignitary, instead of enjoying rights, in defence of which, and to establish which, thousands of the brave men of England and America have fought and bled and died, and one drop of whose blood was more to be valued than all that flows in the veins of the wretched advocates of this vile pro-slavery rebellion.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 25th, 1862.

P.S. It seems Mr. Thomas wrote in the year 1851 : "The American Constitution has a worm in its vitals which, if not crushed, will destroy it. It is fostering a power which, in its maturity, will convert the model republic into a despotism." Out of his own mouth is he condemned. The

Unionists are "crushing this worm;" the rebels are endeavouring to bring it "to maturity," and to "establish a despotism." What he enunciated in 1851, was a matter of notoriety to all American politicians, half a century before that period.

MR. ROEBUCK AND AMERICA.

"The little dogs and all,
Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart,
See! they bark at me."

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—MR. Roebuck having by his tortuous course shaken the confidence of his friends, lost all influence in Parliament, and politically reduced himself to a cypher, takes advantage of a meeting which should have been devoted to the promotion of good feeling, and especially towards Americans to whom the town he represents owes so much, to attempt to regain a little popularity by joining in the senseless proslavery cry against America.

Whatever position Mr. Roebuck ever attained as a politician of which he could boast, was acquired by the advocacy of those principles of government for which the American loyalists are now contending; but since his visit to Vienna, and his identification with the views of Austria, it is not surprising that he should regard the contest of a people for constitutional rights, as "immoral," nor that he should wish to see the Government of such a people broken up, and a slavery despotism established on its ruins. If he thinks by propounding such sentiments as those expressed at the Sheffield dinner, and by pursuing the course he appears to have marked out for himself, to propitiate the favour of the Conservative party, and upon a turn of the political wheel to

come into some third-rate office, he will find himself disappointed; for if that party has one trait more conspicuous than another, it is that of not willingly accepting the services of recreant Radicals.

Mr. Roebuck says, "the efforts of loyal men in America to sustain their Government and their institutions are immoral;" that "the nation will probably be divided into five Governments;" that "the war is not a war against slavery;" that "the feeling against the blacks in the North is stronger than at the South;" that "if the States should be re-united, slavery would be more firmly fixed than ever;" that "England had been wonderfully careful of the sensitive feelings of Americans, but as England did not like to be bullied, it had taken occasion recently to show that it would not be bullied;" and that "this manifestation was the brightest spot in the noble Premier's escutcheon;" that "an irresponsible people were not to be trusted;" that he hoped the noble Lord sitting opposite would induce the great Powers to step in and stop the contest;" and that "this hope was the moral of his speech."

In respect to the immorality of the effort of the Americans to sustain their Government and nationality, it may be sufficient to say that there are in America more than twenty millions of people on the average as virtuous as Mr. Roebuck; on the average much better informed on the subject, and consequently more capable of forming a correct opinion; a vast many of them being more intelligent than he, and greatly his superiors, who think they are upholding the best institution ever framed by man; who think they are under every moral obligation to themselves and their posterity, to their brethren of the South now ground to the dust by a military despotism, to mankind at large, and to the great Giver of all good, who has bestowed upon them so many blessings, to defend and uphold this Government and this nationality, with all their power and might; to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their honour to its successful accomplishment, and to maintain the Union of the States one and indivisible; and this they mean to do.

With respect to its not being a war against slavery, and to slavery being more firmly fixed than ever in case of a re-union of the States, it may be said that the whole of the people, both North and South, are of the opinion that if the North prevails, slavery will have received its death-blow ; that the days of whatever remains of the institution at such time of success, will be numbered ; but on the contrary, if the rebellion succeeds, that slavery will be perpetuated, not only where it now exists, but throughout the almost boundless regions of the South. There are no two opinions upon either of these points ; it is the depth of this conviction which intensifies the fight on the part of the slave owners and their mercenaries ; they know it is a question of life or death to slavery, and Mr. Roebuck in pretending to a contrary opinion, is simply putting forth a hypocritical excuse to stifle the accusations of conscience for supporting a pro-slavery rebellion.

With respect to the difference of feeling between the North and the South towards the blacks, nothing can exceed the silliness of the observations made on this head. Northern people do not wish to marry with the blacks, nor to make them bosom associates. There is no reason why they should ; the races were created different, and are intended to be so ; but the North is desirous to give the blacks their freedom, and to treat them as men and brethren. When a black man has attained any degree of eminence as a preacher, or as a pious person, he has been more kindly treated, and had more attention paid to him than a white man in the same position ; whereas the Southerners are willing to tolerate the blacks only as slaves ; as animals whom they can caress or kick at their pleasure ; not allowing them to learn, to be taught, nor permitting them to marry, but holding them and dealing with them as brutes. It is the strong antipathy to "free" negroes which induces the "mean whites" of the South to aid the slaveholders in their pro-slavery rebellion. The worst that can be said against the North in regard to the blacks is, that the people there have not yet made up their minds to bestow upon them the franchise ; but this can

hardly be urged against them by those who hold that the franchise is already too much extended, and who regard with complacency the fact that the great body of English labourers are denied this right.

In respect to bullying, it appears by Mr. Roebuck's statement that while America was united and strong, England was wonderfully careful of the sensitive feelings of Americans; in fact it is said that "England submitted to many insults for the sake of peace;" that, was while the slave power predominated; but upon the first occasion of a misunderstanding when the freemen had their hands full in contending against those same pro-slavery rebels who had aforetime, as is alleged, insulted England; upon this first occasion, England came down upon them with the threat of immediate war, unless the imputed wrongs were at once redressed; and the bright spot in the Premier's escutcheon, according to Mr. Roebuck, is that he "made this demonstration;" spending a million of money over it, while he had at the same time in his pocket a letter from the American Secretary of State, disclaiming, on the part of the American Government, the offensive act, and saying it would be amicably arranged. Talk of "bullying!" Does not Mr. Roebuck know that all people out of England, and many in England, think the bullying, in this instance, at least, was not on the American side? Lord Palmerston was in his usual luck, and exhibited his usual adroitness. He had been ejected from office, with the approbation of the people, for alleged truckling to Louis Napoleon; he was determined not to commit the same mistake again, and by this prompt movement, completely restored his *prestige* with the English people, while at the same time he had the satisfaction of making them pay for it.

With respect to the Americans being "an irresponsible people, and not to be trusted;" what does Mr. Roebuck mean by an irresponsible people? Does he, a pretended Radical reformer, hold that an intelligent, fairly educated people, subject to laws mainly derived from England, with all the checks and safeguards known to the British con-

stitution, save that the head of the Government and upper House of Parliament are not hereditary; with all the securities deemed necessary by Franklin, Washington, Adams, and other Conservative statesmen of their time, are irresponsible? Are they not responsible to themselves, to their own consciences, to their country, to mankind at large, to their God? Who would he have them responsible to? To some military despot? Possibly a slave oligarchy wielding despotic power, of which he should form a component part, would meet his views of what might be called a responsible party. Whatever his opinion may be in that respect, there can be no dissentient from the opinion that his assertion manifests the extreme of audacity and impertinence.

In reference to intervention of the Great Powers, which was "the moral of his speech," he will be doomed to disappointment. The Emperor of Russia is engaged in liberating the serfs, to his high honour, and is not going to forfeit his fair fame, and to debase himself by assisting to establish a slave empire. The Emperor of France is never going to war with America; England has had enough of attempting to settle the quarrels of others; and the Emperor of Austria has behaved in the most generous and noble way toward the American Government in its difficulties. None of these Powers are desirous to interfere; nor, were they desirous, would they be willing to take the risk of outraging humanity in an attempt to consign the African to slavery for countless generations. The only interference the world will tolerate, on their part, is that of saying to the rebels, "you must never look to us for support nor countenance." That would shorten the war. The war is to all intents and purposes a war between freedom and slavery, and it must be fought out until one or the other triumphs. Mr. Roebuck and I may not live to see its termination, but its result will form an epoch in history more important to men than any other that marks the calendar for centuries.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 12th, 1862.

MR. RUSSELL'S LECTURE AT WOLVERHAMPTON.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—AN inaccuracy occurs in Mr. Russell's excellent lecture at Wolverhampton, as reported in your paper of to-day, which, although perhaps only verbal, is of material importance to the right understanding of the point under consideration.

Mr. Russell, in vindicating the Republican form of Government from the reflections which have been made upon it in consequence of the rebellion, truly remarks, that, "the rebellion was owing to the pure principles of the form of Government not being acted upon;" adding, "the Constitution held that all men were born free and equal," and that, "had that belief been acted upon, there would have been no insurrection;" that is to say, there would have been no slavery, and consequently no insurrection.

Although slavery is diametrically opposed to the pure principles of Government advocated by the framers of the Constitution, there is no maxim of the kind alluded to in it. The Constitution is simply a legal document, containing no declaration of abstract principles. Everything embraced in it of a declaratory nature is in the preamble, which runs as follows, viz. :—

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The assertion "all men are born free and equal," is in "the Declaration of Independence" of 1776, the period of the commencement of the war, whereas, the Constitution was

adopted in 1787, four years after the war. The parties to the Declaration were inspired with lofty views, having the fear of God and man before their eyes, and entertaining a just sense of their individual responsibility; but the nation, having passed through the war successfully, and having enjoyed four years of peace, other persons had become prominent; selfish views began to prevail; the great doctrines which had been acted upon in the hour of trial were being lost sight of, and while several of the States wished to abolish slavery, others refused; consequently, power to deal with it was not yielded to the general Government, but it was retained as a State institution, and the maxim in the Declaration of Independence became practically ignored.

The State of Massachusetts, in its "Bill of Rights" of 1783, had adopted the declaration, "all men are born free and equal," and from that moment slavery ceased in the State, the judges holding that slavery could not exist under such a law. Had it been adopted in the Federal Constitution, no doubt the result throughout the States would have been similar, effecting the complete abolition of slavery. Therefore, the rebellion is owing to the Constitution not being true to the declaration of independence. It permitted the retention of the cancer, which has spread, and, but for the arrogant rapaciousness of its own nurses, might have spread until the whole community had been hopelessly diseased. A kind Providence has ordered it otherwise, and is turning the actors in the iniquity into the instruments of their own destruction.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 28th, 1862.

INGRATITUDE OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—PERHAPS there is nothing more odious than ingratitude. It is base enough when shown towards a righteous benefactor, but when exhibited towards co-partners in iniquity it seems still more repulsive, being then accompanied by dishonour.

The *Richmond Examiner* which may be considered to some considerable extent the mouth-piece of the rebels, says:—

“England could better afford, and her Government would prefer, to see five millions of her operatives starved to death, rather than to see the civil dissensions of this country healed, and its affairs embarked again on the career of prosperity on which they were moving two years ago. England is employing this period of our trials in pushing her schemes for colonial cotton cultivation in every part of the world where she can plant a seed, hoping thus to raise up a competition which will aid in ruining American slavery; that one obstacle to her rapacious greed, against which, for the third of a century, she has directed every resource of her infernal machinations, with a heartless indifference to results and a *cruel disregard of consequences to others*. A nation thus committed is not likely to interfere to protect the institution of slavery from a war which she knows to be *the only means by which it can be overthrown*.”

It would be amusing, were it not lamentable, that the mind of man can become so demented: persons who hold four millions of human beings in slavery and who have rebelled against the “best government in the world,” for the purpose of extending and perpetuating slavery, reproaching their fellow-men with “a cruel disregard of consequences to others;” but the remarks altogether are unpardonable to-

wards the pro-rebel sympathisers in England, and especially so towards the *Times*, *Herald*, *Standard*, *London Post*, *Saturday Review*, &c.; publications which have marched through mud and mire and forfeited every claim they had to respect and attention, in their mendacious support of the rebels. To be thus spurned, denounced, stigmatised, reveals an amount of ingratitude which could hardly have been imagined. It is what Lord Liverpool would have called "too bad." And ye Messieurs, ye who borrow your ideas from these unscrupulous prints, what have you to say in respect to the assertion that this war is the only means by which slavery can be overthrown? And mark, how innocently the responsibility of the war is thrown upon England, and how glibly the writer talks of "this country," of "civil dissensions," and of the "prosperity two years ago." It is no longer the "hated North," the "fight for independence," the "ruination" which "two years ago," was held to "overhang the South, in consequence of its connection with the North!" Wait a little longer, and the rebels will have their eyes opened still wider, and their satellites wherever to be found, will be dumbfounded at their own foolishness, and want of principle.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 1st, 1862.

THE *TIMES* & THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—OF all the topics on which the *Times* has evinced its enmity and malignity in abusing and misrepresenting America and Americans, none were more prominent on the breaking out of the rebellion than their "want of patriotism," and "unwillingness to submit to the restraints of

Governmental rule." They cared ~~for~~ nothing but making dollars; they would not incur the hardships of war, nor be taxed to support their nationality. The Government had no power; it possessed no vitality and no means of self-preservation; it had simply to follow the dictates of a turbulent democracy.

When the people came forward with their half million of volunteers and their hundreds of millions of money, the *Times* had not the honesty to acknowledge its error, but changed its tone, and, with an affectation of friendship, became hypocritically lachrymose. It warned the Americans that they were about to fight for nothing, and told their capitalists that madness ruled the hour, or they would not be so regardless of their money. It threw patriotism to the winds, and bowed the knee to mammon. A volume might be filled in recounting the evidences of its disregard of logic, of principle, of truth, and of the failure of its prognostications. In its desire to write America down, in its vanity and egotism, it has continually adopted false data for its arguments, and consequently its conclusions have been worthless. But no sooner is one of its dogmas overthrown than it propounds another, and with as much assurance and self-complacency as though all its previous speculations had been successes instead of failures.

In a late number, the *Times* says:—"The war has destroyed that which made the Union worth preserving. In free democratic America no man is safe in expressing an opinion, any one may be arrested. The press and telegraph are fettered, and freedom is carried away." It is no longer the "lawless mob," "the weak submissive government;" but a despotic government and a servile people.

It might be shown, could it lead to any good end, that the British Government has upon numerous occasions adopted measures either more despotic or similar to those thus condemned in the American Government. Does not the *Times* recollect that a few years since a law was passed by which any one might be thrown into prison for speaking "disrespectfully" of Parliament, and that the *habeas corpus* act was

suspended during profound peace? But it is unnecessary to go into this matter. In its littleness of soul, and low grovelling estimation of patriotism, the *Times* cannot comprehend that loftiness of feeling and intense love of country, which induces a people to place everything in the hands of its Government, for the time being, to be used for the public necessity. "Take our property, take our persons, take our lives if necessary, but save the nation," is the universal cry. History affords no other example of a people yielding so unanimously and entirely to the necessities of state, and for this obvious reason, that there has never before been so thorough a "people's government," nor one so worthy of support. Those familiar with and accustomed to tyrannies, or even to oligarchical rule, cannot comprehend the facts nor understand the feeling. They think the exercise of extraordinary powers must come of despotism, and submission to it, from servility. They *can* understand that the people are their own law makers, but this, with them, means mob law and anarchy. They overlook, that with such a people, *entire submission to executive authority does but exhibit their own power*, inasmuch as the authority which demands this submission proceeds from themselves.

The last move of the *Times* for the purpose of destroying Republican institutions and establishing a slave empire upon its ruins under oligarchical sway, is in an attempt to sow dissension between the Western and Northern States, and induce the former to join the rebels. It endeavours to persuade them that their interest lies with the South; that with free trade they would get their supplies cheaper from Old England than from New England; that money is of more value than patriotism; that gain is of more solid advantage than honour; that they had better belong to a nation of slaves, ruled over by a few slaveowners, than to a nation of freemen, every one enjoying equal political rights. This is a sample of the *Times'* advocacy of the rights of a people, and of its morality.

It would be easy to show the ignorance thus displayed in regard to the trade of the Western States, and the fallacy of

the conclusions. It would be easy to show that the rebel States would not be able to do with lower duties than the Northern States; that the northern market is the great market for supplies to the West and for Western produce, and that most of the agricultural instruments required by its people can be had of far better quality and cheaper from New England than from Europe; but without going into that matter, it will be sufficient to the purpose to consider what reply the Western States themselves give to these traitorous appeals of the *Times*.

Take the State of Illinois as a fair sample of the whole. This State, which at the period when the *Times* was opposing the repeal of the corn laws and the inauguration of free trade, contained but a little over one hundred thousand persons, had before the last call for six hundred thousand men, sent more than seventy thousand volunteers to the war, and since that call, fifty-four thousand of its citizens have volunteered, being more than its whole quota; making in all one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, all volunteers; almost as many from one single State, but the other day a wilderness, as the whole Volunteer Rifle Corps of which Great Britain is justly proud. This is the reply which Illinois gives to the *Times*, and it is ready to reply further by adding another hundred thousand, if necessary.

The readers of the *Times* may be able to appreciate the offensiveness of this attempt to break up the Union by supposing a parallel case affecting themselves. Suppose Ireland to be in a state of rebellion, and that it had gained such strength as to induce foreigners to say "it could not be overcome;" suppose, besides the loss of Ireland, its success would effect the exclusion of English commerce from the waters between England and Ireland; a result not so damaging to England as the command of the mouths of the Mississippi by an antagonistic power would be to the free States of America; suppose further that such success would effect the re-establishment of Papal supremacy in England, with the probability of perpetuating it, an event not more repugnant to English feeling than the perpetuation and ex-

tension of slavery would be to the freemen of America; and suppose that at such a period, when England was straining every nerve to support its institutions and its nationality, while Americans were smuggling arms and ammunition into Ireland, sending the Irish, iron Monitors, and all kinds of military stores, and sneering at England's pretension to repugnance to Papacy because it had been tolerated to some extent in Ireland; suppose at such a period as this the American writers should endeavour to induce Scotland to break away from England, urging that it would be vastly to its advantage; that the income tax, the duties on tea, coffee, wines and spirits, and all other impositions would be got rid of; that it would govern itself in its own way and establish a most beneficial direct commerce with America! Suppose all this, which would be as near as possible a parallel case, and by no means overcharged, what would England say of America and its writers? Would it not arouse a universal feeling of indignation? Would not the first impulse be to declare against them eternal non-intercourse and war?

The *Times* is now practising towards America this wholesale iniquity, with the self-complacency of the most accomplished hypocrite, and with the approbation of vast numbers of its readers.

The *Times* considers itself almost the fourth estate in the kingdom. One half of its readers take their opinions from it. What the Americans may think may not affect its material interests, but it is contrary to reason that so much wickedness should not be eventually overthrown.

And now the pro-slavery press is jubilant over the recent reverses in America. It affects to suppose that the rebels have finally triumphed, and that the freemen of the North are discomfited. It is hardly too much to say that a thrill of delight is felt throughout England. Were it true; were despotism and slavery triumphant, though it might gladden the hearts of oligarchs, it ought to occasion universal mourning among the "masses" of Europe, and cause a wail of despair to go up from the children of Africa, that would ascend to heaven and call for vengeance on the

authors and abettors of the iniquity, But wait a little! such a deplorable result will not be permitted; Providence wills it otherwise. If the history of the future can be read in the past, the fight has not yet commenced on the part of the North. It took eight years to establish their independence. It may take that to re-establish it, and put down rebellion; but even if so, it will be time more advantageously spent for themselves, and the world, than a whole eternity of prosperity with despotism and slavery triumphant.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 18th, 1862.

LORD Brougham, in a public speech, had denounced President Lincoln's course in unmeasured terms, in consequence of which I wrote a private note to him, in which I expressed the opinion "that his Lordship would not have condemned that course, without having settled in his mind some better, that might be pursued, and pledging myself to lay it before President Lincoln, if he would do me the honour to make it known to me."

I considered it unpardonable in one in his Lordship's position, to abuse President Lincoln, without being able to point out a better way.

His Lordship's reply was irrelevant, the only point in it was that he "thought those who wanted to be free, ought to be free;" whereupon I addressed the following letter to him and sent a copy to the Editor of the LONDON AMERICAN.

LETTER TO LORD BROUGHAM.

From the LONDON AMERICAN, October 1st, 1862.

MR. Goddard has spoken a great many earnest and eloquent words for his country. The subjoined letter is one of his happiest efforts, in the way of convincing arguments.—ED.

MY LORD,—I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's note of the 20th inst., and to return my thanks for it. I have taken the liberty of sending to your Lordship a Boston, U.S. paper, containing the report of a speech on the war by the Hon. Edward Everett, in which he so fully points out the disasters that would attend the disruption of the American Union, irrespective of the great evil of re-establishing slavery, that nothing on that head need be added. Your Lordship will see that the apprehension of these disasters is sufficient to justify every patriot and every honest man in resisting the rebellion to the death.

The freemen of the United States hold that this is an "unjust," "unnecessary," and "wicked war;" and that nothing but the most evil influences could have instigated it. They hold that the objects of the rebellion are in all respects opposed to the interests of the American people, subversive of their liberties, and destructive of the principles of humanity. They have an abiding faith that their duty to their country and to mankind, imperatively calls upon them to put down the rebellion. Had the rebels taken constitutional means to effect their great object of extending slavery and fixing it upon a permanent basis; had they, failing these means, proposed a peaceable separation; had they, in performing the farce of secession acted in conformity with the requirements of their own State constitutions; had they shown that their own people, or at any rate, a considerable majority of them, desired to separate from the Union, and had the North, after all these things, refused to consent to any disruption of the Union, and made war upon them; then, and in that case, however justifiable such a course by the North might have been in point of fact, and by the laws and usages of nations, there would perhaps have been some show of reason in declaring the war on their part to be unjust and unnecessary. But when none of those things took place; when it is considered that no constitutional means were adopted; that no application for separation was made; that their own State laws were trampled upon and totally disregarded; that the question of separation was never fairly put

to their own people ; that so far as it was put, there was in the aggregate, a majority of more than one hundred thousand votes against it ; that a few disappointed political leaders, aided by menial retainers, coerced their own people and their own States into rebellion ; that they seized the Government arms, fortifications, property, and money, and made war upon the Government, opening numerous batteries upon a few United States troops in an isolated fort, whom they knew could not be relieved, and could not hold out forty-eight hours for want of food ; making, as was acknowledged by themselves, war upon the best and most benign Government the world had ever known, a Government that was not chargeable with one single offensive act towards them ; when all these things are considered, it cannot be supposed that there is a philanthropist or Christian in the wide world, who will not declare the war so made by the rebels to be cruel, unjust, and unnecessary, and who would not have pronounced the freemen of the North, had they quietly submitted to these outrages and succumbed to the rebellion, base and pusillanimous ; traitors to the trust reposed in them ; traitors to the sacred cause of liberty !

Your Lordship will not fail to see that success on the part of the rebels would be the greatest calamity that would befall man in the ordinary course of human events. That should liberty be subverted in the North and slavery become fixed throughout the Union, the Government would be imperious, arrogant, and aggressive ; that it would conquer Canada, Cuba, and Mexico, in defiance of Europe, and establish slavery for a permanency throughout the whole of the North American Continent. Such results would be morally certain. Your Lordship must be aware that it has required all the watchfulness and power of the free States of America, for a long series of years, to restrain the slave power from invading Cuba and Mexico, and to prevent the extension of slavery through the United States territories ; territories twenty times larger than England. Even should slavery, through success of the rebels, be carried no further North than its present boundary, still the calamity to hu-

manity would be incalculably great. It would soon be spread throughout the Southern territories, Mexico, and all Central America ; Cuba would be conquered, the African slave trade would be opened, and a powerful slave empire, upon which Europe could make no impression, would become a fixed fact. Slavery, the basis of empire, would become a reality. Unless the North can now put down the slave power, it will stand little chance of effecting it when that power has become strengthened and consolidated. Moreover, it would never attempt it. Its people are of a religious turn of mind, given to industrial pursuits, and fond of the arts of peace. They will never become aggressive. The aggressive element in America is the slave power. If the North once acknowledges the independence of the slave States, it can never again interfere for the purpose of liberating the slaves. At the present time, although the continuance of slavery might be profitable to the North in a pecuniary sense, its people are not willing that a Slave Power should be established upon its borders, nor at all, anywhere ; nor are they willing that slavery should be continued within their rule any longer than is necessary for the beneficial emancipation of the slaves ; but having made a gigantic effort to prevent these results, having sacrificed their people by the hundreds of thousands, and expended their money by the hundreds of millions, and having been opposed in their efforts by the sympathies and aid of Europe in favour of the rebels, so far as Europe is represented by the dominant portion of its press and statesmen, and so far as aid could be surreptitiously rendered, they will never repeat the effort.

Should a slave empire be established embracing the whole of the Continent of North America, or all South of the present free States only ; England will attain the unenviable distinction of having been mainly instrumental in accomplishing it. Its statesmen have encouraged the rebels by the declarations that their cause was just, and must succeed. Many of them, while ignorant even of the rudiments of the merits of the quarrel, have pronounced dogmatically in favour of the rebellion. An influential portion of the press has held

out to the rebels the hope of intervention and assistance, and by its misrepresentations, and by falsehoods unparalleled in the history of journalism, has deceived the people of Great Britain into supporting them, by sending them arms, ammunition, and steamships, and into giving them moral support and encouragement, without which aids they could not have continued the war up to this date. Should this course on the part of England enable the rebellion to prevail; should slavery be extended, the Union of the States be broken up, Republican institutions be destroyed, and despotism established on the ruins, George the Third will indeed be avenged! The work of Washington will be lost to the world, and become a scoff and a by-word; and his name will be trodden out from the page of history! It may not be mentioned afterward, but with shame and dishonour.

Nothing but the strong arm of the North stands between the world and the establishment of this Slave Power, and this fatal blow to the liberties of man. Does it not, my Lord, behove every good man to pray that this arm may be strengthened by Providence, and become successful? and that poor suffering humanity may not be called upon to endure the terrible punishment which will otherwise be inflicted upon it?

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 24th, 1862.

THE following is from the JERSEY INDEPENDENT, written by the Editor, and inserted here in evidence that there was good cause for the foregoing letter.

LORD BROUGHAM ON THE REBELLION.

THE description of the people of America, "the whole people," Lord Brougham says, "frantic with mutual hatred, filled with a thirst of vengeance, only to be slaked by each other's slaughter," is a gross exaggeration of the actual facts and a cruel libel upon the American people. No doubt in actual conflict the terrible passions evoked by mortal strife animate for a time being, the belligerents on both sides; and it is a fact, a lamentable fact, which has affixed an indelible stigma upon the party of the South, that among them many wretches have emulated the ferocious and loathsome traits of savage warfare by their mutilation of the dead bodies of their foes; whilst their leaders have not hesitated to employ the Indian, an ally as pitiless as senseless. On the other hand, the Northern troops have nowhere displayed a thirst for vengeance. The battle ended, the conflict over, they have spared the fallen enemy and treated them as erring brothers worthy of pity, rather than punishment. Had such an outbreak occurred in France, Austria, or any other part of Europe, scaffolds would long ere this have been erected for the judicial slaughter of rebels falling into the hands of the Government they had defied. When Lord Brougham describes the American people in general as frantically eager for each other's blood, we can only regret that he should by such expressions exhibit himself the dupe of "epidemic slander and falsehood." We believe he is equally wrong in his anticipations that the war will last long enough to impoverish the country in all its resources. No doubt the Southern States will be impoverished; but that issue of the

conflict will be absolutely the work of the rebels and their most just punishment. Lord Brougham's friend, M. Garnier Pages, better appreciates the cause and character of the impoverishment referred to. In the International Section and in Lord Brougham's presence, M. Garnier Pages pointed out that "the destruction of cotton in the Southern States was carried out for the purpose of forcing Europe to take part in the struggle, and he attributed the war in great part to the existence of slavery; in fact," he said, "it might be considered as an expiation for that horrible crime."

MANHATTAN.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOUR Stourbridge correspondent need not be surprised at the absurd exaggerations of "Manhattan," who writes in the supposition that his statements will be taken only for what they are worth, and will deceive no one. Moreover, they are not more atrocious than the statements continually put forth as truths, by Dr. Mackay, the *Times*, and other pro-slavery London journals. The extent to which these indulge in unadulterated falsehood on American affairs, and to which they influence their readers, is perfectly appalling. With respect to "Manhattan," the wonder is that any respectable paper should consider his sayings worthy of being quoted.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 25th, 1862.

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM.

MESSRS. GLADSTONE AND KING.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—MR. Locke King says, "Every man belonging to the Northern States of America is now glad to abjure his nationality and claim to be an Irishman, an Englishman, or a German, a native, in point of fact, of any other country but his own." Mr. Gladstone says, "The slave would fare better under Southern rule than under Union rule;" that "Jefferson Davis has made the South a nation," and that "the success of the pro-slavery rebellion cannot be doubted."

It seems nearly impossible to believe that Mr. Locke King was not perfectly aware that he was uttering an atrocious untruth, but there are so many Lord Dundrearys in American affairs, it would be uncharitable not to regard him as one of them, and to give him the benefit of it. His audience, composed of "gentry and substantial farmers," who received his remarks "with plaudits," evidently belonged to the same class; they doubted not the wisdom of his words, but in the progress of his speech, the wonder grew, that one small head could carry all he knew.

If Mr. Locke King would plead as an excuse for his wholesale libel upon the American people, that some few Americans and others of doubtful nativity have endeavoured to escape the draft, he may be told what he knows full well, that selfish and mean persons are to be found in all communities, who will try to avoid their share of the public burthens, and also that in the case of engaging in war, some have conscientious scruples, others may be opposed to the matter in hand, and others may be constitutionally cowards; enough in all, in a community of twenty millions of people, together with some of foreign birth, to make a show; but that America, in respect to the proportion of its citizens willing to fight

its battles, will favourably compare with the brightest examples recorded in English history, cannot be doubted; indeed, there has scarcely been a parallel to the universal love of country and to the patriotism exhibited; so much so, that the *Times* urges the recklessness of life and property, in putting down the rebellion, as an especial reason for intervention.

On the assumption that Mr Locke King belongs to the Dundreary school, it may be well to inform him, and those who value his words, that eight hundred thousand, perhaps a million of the freemen of the North, have shown their attachment to their country, by volunteering for the war; that thousands of these are as well educated as Mr. Locke King; that tens of thousands of them have vastly larger incomes than he; are much more reliable, and are thoroughly informed on the matter which they have taken in hand, of which he appears to be profoundly ignorant; that probably at no other period since George the Third acknowledged the independence of the States, has the love of country in the free States been so great as at the present time; at no former period have their institutions been so highly valued, nor the inestimable value of those institutions been so conspicuous; that at no other period in the history of their nation, have the people been so proud of their country as at the present time, there not being a man, woman, nor child among them, native born, who would not scorn the thought of abjuring nationality, as much as an English Christian would a proposal to turn Mahomedan. They claim however, no special merit for patriotism; their institutions are so priceless, the career of their country has been so honourable, and its manifest destiny is so magnificent, they would be dead to the ordinary emotions of humanity, not to appreciate their position, and craven to themselves and to man, were they not ready to maintain it to the death, with all their power and might. Finally, Mr. Locke King is told, that whether intentional, or unintentional, his assertion as reported in the papers, is as great an untruth as ever proceeded from the mouth of man.

Mr. Gladstone appears to possess an inherent sympathy with the slaveowner. While the heart of England has been for forty years stirred in the cause of the slave; while the world has been led to believe that England's greatest wish, next to that of maintaining its nationality, was to strike the fetters from the African; while the opportunity is now providentially offered to free nearly four millions of human beings, and to give slavery its death blow throughout the world; Mr. Gladstone, a minister, high in office, high in influence, and great in acquirements, has not one word to say against the slaveowner, not one word to encourage those who are fighting to prevent the extension of slavery, nor one word in favour of abolition; but becomes a partisan and an apologist of slavery, in effect, its advocate. All he has to say in this matter which occupied his mind, and which should enlist the liveliest sympathies of every one, especially of every Englishman, was that the "slave would fare better under Southern rule than under Union rule!" and consequently, the establishment of a Southern slave empire was not to be deprecated by him nor the public! This is precisely the doctrine preached by the Liverpool merchants one hundred years ago, when they were making fortunes in the slave trade. Four generations have not changed the sentiment.

Mr. Gladstone attempts to impose on his audience and the public at large, the belief that the solution of the war in *America has but two alternatives*; viz., that of slavery "under Southern rule," or slavery "under Union rule." While dealing thus tenderly with the subject, and treating it as though the most that England could aim at would be to select the least of these two evils, he perfectly well knew the belief to be nearly universal in America, that success on the part of the Unionists will effect, either immediately, or not very remotely, *the entire abolition of slavery*, and that success by the rebels will spread it over the whole Southern portion of North America, and establish it for centuries. He knew that this was the opinion of thousands of men better informed on the subject than himself, including nearly the

whole of the rebels, and he had no reason to doubt the correctness of the opinion. Moreover, *he had in his possession at the time he made this speech*, the President's proclamation announcing freedom to all the slaves of persons who may be in rebellion on the 1st of January next, and emancipation with compensation, 'at the same period, of all the slaves of loyal citizens. To this proclamation, probably the most important to humanity of any document published during the present century, Mr. Gladstone made not the slightest allusion, although the whole subject of slavery was agitating his mind.

Passing by Mr. Gladstone's disregard of the fact that the success of the Unionists would almost certainly lead to universal emancipation at an early day, he, in the supposition that this would not be the case, but that slavery would be restored to its previous position under the Constitution, is equally unfaithful to circumstances, in expressing the opinion, that slavery would be better, even in that case, in the hands of the South, than under the Union. He knows well that the slave power, for a period of forty years, has been endeavouring to push slavery into the "territories," embracing an area twenty times larger than England; that the free States have steadfastly opposed this desire, and that in consequence of this opposition and eventual refusal, the rebellion was inaugurated. The slaveowners have urged in their own conventions, the well-known fact, that slave labour impoverishes the soil, and cannot be used profitably in the same district for a lengthened period, and, consequently, that new districts are indispensable to the existence of slavery. They have urged that free labour and free sentiments were rapidly forcing their way from the North, and would, in connection with this impoverishment of the soil, override slavery, and effect its abolition in the course of time, *unless it could be carried beyond the limits tolerated by the Constitution*. The object of the rebellion was avowedly for the purpose of extending and perpetuating slavery, and Mr. Gladstone cannot, therefore, for one moment pretend that in the event of the success of the North, the Union Go-

vernment would voluntarily permit the extension, against which alone they made the fight; nor can he, on the other hand, conclude by any mode of reasoning, that in the event of the success of the slave power, *it would not avail itself of that for which alone it went into rebellion!* The idea is too preposterous to be entertained for one moment, and yet Mr. Gladstone has the dishonesty to keep back from his audience this obvious difference to slavery under Southern rule and under Union rule; consequently, he misleads his audience and the public, and apparently after due thought and consideration, in respect to the alternatives of the contest being the continuance of slavery under the Union, as it existed prior to the Union, or its continuance under Southern rule; and also in respect to the evil being no greater under Southern rule than under Union rule; exhibiting a disregard of facts that would destroy the political reputation of one who had not established a position.

A greater calamity could hardly happen to humanity than the success of the slave power in this most wicked rebellion. Its Government would be that of a slave-holding oligarchy, with slavery as "a divine institution, and the base and cornerstone of empire." It would be imperious, arrogant, and aggressive; under no conceivable circumstances would it be divested of these inherent characteristics. It would conquer Cuba and Mexico, and spread slavery over the whole Southern portion of North America. No power on earth could prevent it. It would open the African slave trade on a larger scale than ever. It would fix slavery on the African for centuries, and instead of raising up the poor whites and expanding their intellects and aspirations, it would reduce them to the condition of serfs. These objects and intentions have been freely avowed by the rebel leaders. The hypocritical excuse put forth by the *Times*, for its own want of principle, in supporting the rebels, that slavery would probably be soon abolished voluntarily by the slave power, is, of all arguments used, the most Quixotic and contemptible.

With respect to England's material interest, the supposition

that English manufactures would be admitted into the South free of duty, or at a low duty, and that England would enjoy exclusive privileges in trade, is equally preposterous. It is one of those cases in which people allow their wishes to overrule their judgment. In the first place, the slave power at heart, *hates England*. It always did. The only friends of England in America, have always been Northerners. The feeling in the South has not changed; it even now breaks out unmistakeably in the Southern papers. Then again, the Southern debt will be much larger in proportion to the wealth to be assessed than the Northern. The South will have to support an army and navy, and be at all the expense of an organised Government. Money must be raised. The South has always refused direct taxation, and insisted on raising revenue by duties on imports; there is no reason to suppose that this feeling will change; consequently the thought of low duties would vanish in face of the necessity. And so with respect to England's enjoying especial privileges over the Northern States. Should the North acknowledge the independence of the Slave States, it would be on compulsion; *and consequently it would be compelled to consent to a fugitive slave law!* Without such a law there would be no peace between the two sections. The slaveholders have not rebelled for the purpose of opening the whole North as a place for their slaves to flee to; they would insist upon a fugitive slave law, and in return would offer to the North unrestricted free trade, and the privileges of the most favoured nations. It would be idle to say the North would not agree to a fugitive slave law. Nothing but *imperative necessity* will induce it to acknowledge the independence of the South, and *the same necessity* would compel it to grant a fugitive slave law; for without that, as has been already stated, the object of acknowledging the independence, viz., peace, would not be secured.

Seven-eighths of the exports from Great Britain to the States during the last forty years have gone to the free States. By the severance of the Union through British complicity, a good portion of this trade will be lost, and no trade to the

South will counterbalance it. A power would be established on a basis *altogether opposed to the sympathies of the people of England*; it would come into constant collision with it; there would be danger of continuous war. On the contrary, the free power in America has never been imperious, arrogant, nor aggressive. It is not in its nature to be so. Its people are inclined to industry and to the arts of peace. Trade and commerce are their delight. They wish to hold unrestricted peaceful communication with the whole world. They wish to cultivate the arts and sciences, and to extend civilization and Christianity. They wish to abolish slavery throughout the earth, and the moment their financial position and their monetary system will permit, they will abolish custom-houses throughout the land. A perfect system of money would enable them to do it. Mr. Gladstone in advocating the cause of the rebels, in upholding slavery, or even in tolerating it, is faithless to civilization, faithless to the slave, faithless to humanity, and faithless to the material interests of Great Britain; and this, time will abundantly prove.

Mr. Gladstone says, "Jefferson Davis has made a nation; he has achieved a success." Made a nation! For the vile purpose of personal ambition, and the viler purpose of perpetuating slavery, he and his associates have turned a garden into a wilderness. Where all was sunshine and joy and prosperity, without a cloud (save that of the curse of slavery), all is now darkness and gloom and despair. They have converted what was comparatively a paradise into a pandemonium. Where all was animate with the joys of social and domestic life, murders and robberies are rife, and nought is heard but the lamentations of the widow and the fatherless, the groans of the wounded and dying, and the clank of arms!

Made a nation! *Wait a little.* The power of the North, nerved by the arm of Heaven, will presently sweep over the rebel hordes like an avalanche and scatter the myrmidons of slavery like chaff before the hurricane. It will restore equal rights to all loyal subjects. It will liberate from foul oppression four millions of human beings, and give the death-

blow to slavery throughout the world. The prayer of the African yet unborn will rise to the throne of God for unnumbered blessings on the deliverers of his race.

When this great work is accomplished, as it certainly will be accomplished, the freemen of the North, while acknowledging in all humility, that "not through their own power and might have they done this," will ask Mr. Locke King, and Mr. Gladstone, men who should have hastened the coming of these glorious results, but who lent their aid to retard and prevent them; who "wishes to deny his nationality?" who "has made a nation?" who has "achieved a success?"

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 12th, 1862.



AN ANSWER TO "CREDULOUS."

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOUR facetious correspondent, "Credulous," is quite entitled and fully welcome to every hit he has made. The instances which he brings, however, in confirmation of my assertions, require elaborating, and for the benefit of those who do not understand his allusions so well as he, this service I will attempt to perform.

To begin with "Governor Wadsworth;" it is intolerable that a person owning an estate but forty-two miles long, and who is to be Governor of a State containing but three and a half millions of people, should endeavour to stimulate his countrymen to fight for their nationality; but still more so, when Europeans declare that the Union is broken up, bankrupt, and ruined, and Republican institutions exploded, at the same time threatening intervention. For him to utter

the menace, "Have a care! One of these days we shall number two hundred millions, and may then pay you off for your sins." Still worse does this become, when he says, "then at that time we will declare there shall be no more wars; barbarism shall give way to Christianity; the spear shall be beaten into the pruning hook; slavery and serfdom shall cease; and man shall sit down under his own vine and fig tree, having none to molest or make him afraid." Such a menace as this, can only proceed from a most pugnacious individual.

Then with respect to General Butler; what can be said for him? With a few gunboats and a small force he had the temerity to overcome strong forts, destroy a fleet, and capture a city. The act is not forgiven by those who opposed it; and it is most cruel and brutal on his part, having taken the city, not to let the rebels do as they please. It is an especial inconvenience to them. One of them who hauled down the general's flag, after the city had been given up, was actually court martialled, instead of being cut down on the instant, European and Indian fashion.

"Butler's tyranny" is truly appalling; it must be so, it so excites the feelings of European sympathizers. He has actually cleared the city of robbers and murderers, and made it safe to walk the streets at noonday. He has taken away from the rowdies and others, bowie knives and pistols, the carrying of which had been so highly approved by the English, especially at the period of the "Georgia railroad murders." Instead of permitting his soldiers to insult the women, in the Peninsular style, (read the history of the Peninsular war,) he was ungallant enough to take steps to prevent the women insulting his soldiers; and has actually arrested one woman twice, and another once! the former for occasioning a tumult by rejoicing over the burial of a Union officer, in the first instance; and in the second, for occasioning a riot, whereby a soldier lost his life. This was a notable case; the *Times* shed tears over it; the fact that the woman was the wife of a highly respectable keeper of a disorderly gambling house, especially excited the commiseration of the

Times. The other case was that of a white delicate woman, arrested for nearly flogging to death a young girl, with a skin not quite so white, who had run away from her, and had been returned. General Butler has also adopted the inhuman practice of levying contributions on the rich rebels, for the purpose of feeding the poor who were starving, and whom the rebellion had deprived of employment; and, as it were, to crown his iniquity, he has accepted the universal thanks of the poor, and of the loyal citizens, who are so blinded to the aforesaid enormities, as to declare him to be a most humane man, and exactly the right man in the right place.

In respect to free trade, the pretended friendship of Americans for it, while adopting the Morrill Tariff, would deserve the gravest censure, had they not been taught in a bad school. They had heard for many years, that "protection to the shipping, manufacturing, and agricultural interests, was the true policy;" that "England's greatness was owing to the protection extended to these interests." The corn laws had been represented to them, as highly beneficial, and they had heard the Prime Minister of the Crown declare that "one would be mad who should repeal the corn laws." They had also the misfortune to read the *Times*, which constantly affirmed that the corn laws were just the thing. They had in this way got it into their heads that protection was a good thing, (and, just like the English, when they once get an idea into their heads it is nearly impossible to get it out) nevertheless, they are coming round, and will take more foreign manufactures as soon as they can supply in return, corn and oil. They had the simplicity to enact the Morrill Tariff, out of pure benevolence, as their foreign friends were sending them more good things than they could pay for. They wish, in the meantime, to be enlightened in respect to what is meant by "free trade." They admit that the English are "free traders," and they themselves "protectionists;" they are told so by their English friends, and believe it, but with a less number of people, England raises a much larger revenue on importations than America. They levy 40 per cent. duty on iron, while England levies several hundreds

per cent. duty on tobacco. They do not doubt that the latter is free trade, and the former protection, but do not see it so clearly as they wish ; they desire information.

Leaving the Americans, and coming nearer home, how can one be excused for telling a gentleman guilty of nothing but libelling a whole nation, that he has uttered an astounding untruth ? The excuse pleaded, that the declaration was in its nature likely, unless contradicted, to be very mischievous, in addition to being unjust, does but aggravate the offence.

Your correspondent must amend his reading with respect to assistance from a higher power. The observations applied to the future and not to the past. On the contrary, it has been held that no especial favour could be looked for, until some decided step should be taken in favour of the abolition of slavery. That step having been taken, it is to be hoped the blessing of Providence will follow those brave men who are offering their fortunes and periling their lives in defence of the liberties of the black as well as the white ; in fact, in the cause of the world at large.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 21st, 1862.



CAUSE OF ENGLISH SYMPATHY FOR THE AMERICAN REBELS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—No event of modern times has occasioned more surprise in America, than the sympathy entertained in England for the pro-slavery rebels. The American revolution was occasioned by encroachments of the crown upon the constitutional rights of the colonies, but at the outset the

maxim, "All men are born free and equal," was promulgated, and the people of the Northern colonies fought, not only for their own rights, but to sustain a principle universally applicable. Not so however, with the slaveholders of the Southern colonies. At that period, Mr. Burke asserted, that they were much prouder of their freedom, and more intolerant of any infringement upon it, than any other class of persons in America, and that this consequently strengthened their opposition to the mother country. The fact was sufficient for the purpose of the argument. He had no occasion to say that the motive which induced to this pride and intolerance was ignoble and base. The slaveholders fought not only for their constitutional rights, but for their power to hold in slavery for their own purposes, millions of their fellow creatures, and in this last respect Mr. Burke's saying is as applicable to the present rebellion as to the war of the revolution. The object increases their pertinacity, and consequently strengthens their opposition.

No sooner was the independence of the colonies acknowledged than a war of words commenced between the slave power and England, in reference to the return of slaves who had fled from time to time to the British armies; and this was continued with much ill feeling for a series of years. On the breaking out of the French revolution, this slave power hastened to express indecent and humiliating sympathy with the extreme Jacobins, and to strengthen their hands, so far as it could, in assailing Great Britain; and in every dispute which ensued from that period down to the present rebellion, it was arrayed against the British Government. In the matter of the Berlin and Milan decrees and the orders in council, which occasioned so much political acrimony and national enmity, it espoused the French theory, and finally, through perseverance and intrigue, it effected the declaration of the war of 1812. Its most popular charge against the Conservative party of the North has ever been, that it was bribed by British gold to advocate British doctrines.

The slave power refused the right of search for slaves; it

inaugurated the aggressive movements against Texas, Cuba, and Mexico, and has been the cause of most of those acts which the English press has denounced from time to time, as arrogant and aggressive, and which acts, a portion of this press is now inciting the people of England to revenge, not on the authors, but on those who are fighting to put down the cause of this tendency to arrogance and aggression. The slave power has ever hated England with a deadly hatred, regarding it as the hot bed of abolitionism ; in its eyes the unpardonable sin. It was ready to make war on England for its reception given to "Uncle Tom's Cabin and Mrs. Stowe." At the commencement of the present rebellion it declared England to be devoid of principle ; that right and national obligations would be disregarded for what might be considered pecuniary interests ; that anti-slavery professions would be sacrificed to cotton ; that "Cotton was King." Adopting slavery as "the corner-stone" of its proposed empire, and announcing the extension and continuance of slavery to be its main objects, it nevertheless held out to its people the expectation that England would acknowledge their independence, and afford them aid. At the commencement of the rebellion, it simply hated England ; now, it both hates and despises it ; it could excuse the abnegation of principle, but cannot forgive the want of baseness to acknowledge that act.

The anti-slave party in America, now embracing nearly the whole of the Union party, did not expect to escape a share in the blame which had beforetime attached to national acts ; but it did expect that England would remain true to its own anti-slavery professions. Assistance was neither expected nor desired ; but sympathy and encouragement were looked for. It has not only been disappointed, but mortified. The high principle upon which it accepted the contest and risked a war of annihilation, is ignored and given to the winds, by the most pretentious advocate and former champion of that principle. In a death struggle with the demon of darkness, the motives and efforts of the anti-slavery party have been held by the dominant press of Eng-

land in derision. Misrepresentation and falsehood have rioted in defaming these motives and efforts, and in applauding and encouraging the slave power. These things have indeed, surprised America.

That a nation supposed to hold slavery in abhorrence ; that a nation which held that a slaveowner was hardly entitled to be received into the communion of Christians ; that a nation which had treated with contumely even the citizens of the North, on whose native soil the foot of the slave had not trod, since their people became a nation, for their indirect complicity in the national sin of slavery ; that a nation thus professing and acting should, in eager haste, throw itself voluntarily into the arms of this slave power ; a power which publishes its intentions in characters as plain as the writing on the wall, but requiring no interpreter, and which has the blasphemous audacity to hold that slavery is a "divine institution," is to the Americans, an unspeakable mystery.

On closer examination however, this marvel admits of a ready explanation. Nothing takes place without a cause, and in this case the cause is plainly revealed to those acquainted with the facts. As already stated, the war of the revolution on the part of the freemen of the North upheld the maxim, "All men are born free and equal." The promulgation of this idea was a deadly thrust to the privileged class. They were becoming indifferent to the "divine right of kings ;" but in respect to themselves, any infringement upon inherited privileges was revolution. So long therefore, as republican institutions prospered, America was a standing menace to the privileged classes ; it was to them a perpetual blister. It was considered by them in the same light as the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain is regarded by some of the despotisms of Europe, as leading eventually to universal republicanism. The better these institutions worked, the greater became the irritation ; consequently, the pro-slavery rebellion, which threatened to break up the American Government, was hailed as a godsend. Moreover, slavery was antagonistic to republicanism, and slave oligarchs, who inherited the divine right to hold slaves, could

sympathise with and command the sympathies of all who claimed hereditary privileges. They could join in trampling in the dust the maxim, "All men are born free and equal." The press in the class interest, soon received its cue. The *Times* led off; it declared republican institutions a failure; it declared the great republic broken up; misrepresentation and falsehood became so bold and persistent that truth fell into disrespect, and the most cautious and guarded were deceived. The great object has been to delude the people, and this object has been so far successful as to induce thousands of honest men to side with the rebels, who, could they fully understand the question at issue, would abhor themselves for their complicity in this crime against the liberties of man.

It must not be overlooked that the oligarchical principle, is the ruling principle in England. It is upheld, not only by the privileged classes, but by the moneyed aristocracy and their numberless connections and dependants. These classes control the Church, the Military, and to a great extent the Press; and through these channels, and personal influence, have the minds of the people, mainly under control. No great or beneficial object, apart from class interests, often originates with them, or is carried out with their hearty concurrence. The utmost efforts of the people are required to effect reforms of the most obvious necessity. To obtain the representation in the people's own House of Commons, of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and some other great towns, the people had to threaten rebellion; and after all, the Crown had to plead with the Peers to give way. The efforts of benevolent and zealous men were exerted for years, before any effective movement in the cause of the slave was permitted. It was only by "stirring the heart of England," and arousing a feeling in the masses which would not be denied, that the abolition of slavery in the British possessions was finally carried. It was never effected through enmity of the class interests to the institution. Of the dominating classes, indeed, it would not perhaps be hazarding much to say, that abolition was regarded with disfavour by

those classes ; not that they would wish to enslave the black, but because amelioration of human subjugation, menaces hereditary and class privileges.

America became established as a nation in opposition to the wishes of the privileged classes ; but the masses, as soon as they understood the causes of quarrel, sympathised with the Americans, and asked for the acknowledgment of their independence. The feelings of the masses, however, are easily acted upon by designing politicians and a designing press, through appeals to their patriotism, their bravery, and to their nationality ; and although they may eventually settle down into a right appreciation of facts, there is always danger of their being made subservient for a time, at least, to evil purposes ; to purposes which may be diametrically opposed to their own interests. The affair of the Trent, which was purely accidental, and simply the act of an individual, and which was disavowed as soon as the American Government was informed that the British Government held it to be illegal, was declared to be a planned insult, and the people of Great Britain were led to believe that the American Government intended to insult them, and to provoke a war, and many believe it even to this day. The power which an unscrupulous press, acting in the interests of the aristocratic classes, has, in influencing the people, is most dangerous. It may make the most unjust wars popular. It will seldom be exercised to enlarge the rights of the people, but often to circumscribe them. No reform will result from this influence ; the people should be ever be on their guard against it ; unless they are, a war may be got up at any time between England and America. At the present time even the strongest preventive of "intervention" in favour of the slave power, which would certainly lead to war, is fear of the "sound and second thought" of the people. It is known they would not support such a war. At the same time the Americans have to discriminate between the acts of oligarchs, aided by their paid oracles, and the acts of the people of England. They must be slow to take umbrage at insults given by the former, simply for the purpose of provoking a collision.

America has a mission to fulfil, of liberty, peace, and universal brotherhood. It is sadly interrupted at the present time. Despotisms have had their uses; they were necessary to bring order out of disorder. Serfdom and feudalism have had their day. The British Constitution is the result of a never-ceasing progress from a state of barbarism to the present state of society; but the end of progress is not yet found. The American "dogma" will become a practical fact long before perfection is attained. Violent changes are not desirable; no good citizen wishes such changes. Each class has its use, and will continue so long as the state of society requires it, and no longer. To suppose that privileged classes are the end, and not simply the means, to some great purpose, is to set at nought the teachings of history and the universal manifestations of Providence. As well might it be supposed that the straight coats and broad hats of the Quakers, are the end and aim of their pure and benevolent doctrines, instead of being simply the emblems by which the professors of these doctrines are known. The world is not going backward. Despotism is not going to be established in England, nor is a slave empire going to be established in America. Three hundred thousand slaveowners are not going to rule twenty-seven millions of freemen, nor hold in chains four millions of their fellow-creatures! The bare possibility of such a result would disgrace the age, and every true Englishman should spurn with indignation those who would lend their influence to so fiendish an object.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 10th, 1862.

THE STATES AND ENGLAND.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—MR. Williams demurs to my supposition that “the people of England have been misled by a mendacious press, acting in class interests, in respect to the cause of the war in America, and been induced thereby to sympathise with the upholders of an institution which they profess to detest,” and having made this disclaimer, he forthwith offers himself *as an example* highly illustrative of the truthfulness of the supposition.

At the commencement of the war, Mr. Williams truly appreciated the cause of the quarrel, and “his sympathies went with the North;” but now “he no more sympathises with the North than with the South.” While pretending to abhor slavery, he sympathises equally with those who make it their idol, and those who, to say the least, have discarded it from among themselves, and who profess to be making war against it; thus inculcating the doctrine, that good actions from wrong motives deserve no more support, than bad ones done in sincerity; a weak invention to quiet the conscience, in taking a course which the better judgment declares to be **wrong**.

Mr. Williams in the first instance “thought the struggle was forced upon the North by slavery, but now he is undeceived.” A better illustration could hardly be desired than his case affords of the position of large numbers of his countrymen. Partially informed, and thinking correctly at the outset, they are nevertheless, through the insidious and persistent misrepresentations of a partisan press, induced to yield their convictions, and espouse a cause, which in the absence of this malign influence, they would be eager to oppose.

In respect to the cause of the war, no one fully informed

on the subject has any doubt. It was slavery, and nothing else. In evidence of this truth, Mr. Williams is referred to *every person in America, both loyal and disloyal*; but while canvassing them, he is recommended to read Mr. Thompson's speech at Maidstone, and the address of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, dated the 17th inst. To do him justice however, he "finds sufficient reasons apart from slavery, to justify a withdrawal of his sympathies from the North." These are "the misconstruction of motives;" "the Trent affair;" "the protective principles aimed at the trade of England;" "the Monroe doctrine, which would ultimately involve the two nations in war," and finally, "the probability that America, unless divided, will grow up a great domineering power, prescribing how all the world shall be governed."

Without attempting an elaborate refutation of these reasons, *it may be said briefly*, that those who have watched the course of some of the London, and also, provincial prints, for the last two years, and have noticed the never-ceasing abuse and insult heaped by them upon America, may well excuse bitterness, and even exaggeration, in reply; that, to say the worst of the Trent affair, it has been settled to the entire satisfaction of the British Government, and the offence, however great, or little, condoned; that the question of duties on imports is purely one of finance and political economy, not aimed at England, but putting all nations on the same footing; if the Americans cannot grow ~~tea~~, but can make iron, that circumstance is accidental, and if they take more ~~tea~~ than iron, it is not because they love the Chinese better than the English; that America takes as large an amount of foreign products as it can pay for; that England, without offence to any one, pursued a protective policy for its own benefit, and abandoned it for its advantage; that, even should the Monroe doctrine be persisted in, it cannot produce a collision, unless England attempts to conquer or overrule some portion of the American continent, and finally that Mr. Williams pays a high compliment to American institutions in imagining that under them the nation may become

strong enough to prescribe how the world shall be governed. To tell the truth, I myself expect something of this kind will happen prior to the millenium; the government of the world needs improving. But supposing Mr. Williams's resentments and expectations are justifiable, does he not see that he is adopting a very low standard of morality in being willing to consign four millions of human beings and their offspring to endless slavery for the sake of avenging immaterial affronts, and providing against a problematical contingency of doubtful evil? On reflection he will abandon this position.

A "Country Shopkeeper" says, "that England submits to great losses, while it could readily raise the blockade." No doubt England suffers as well as loyal America, by this pro-slavery rebellion, though not to one-tenth the extent. America could have escaped the loss by permitting the extension of slavery, which however, would have disgraced it for ever; and England would have got cotton by raising the blockade, but that would have cost twenty times more than to do without it, and would have entailed a lasting stigma on the nation.

Mr. Shirley says, "there is not an Englishman in a thousand who would sanction slavery." Giving full credit to this belief, how much the more lamentable it is that they should be misled into giving their sympathies to the most absolute and determined propagandists of slavery the world has ever known. He says, "the Government of America only uses the abolition of slavery as a question of expediency;" that "the great majority of the people at the North do not care to see abolition carried out;" that "the antipathy to coloured people is quite as strong at the North as at the South;" that "if a white intermarries with a black the whole neighbourhood is in a turmoil;" and that "the whole American people arose against the principle of levying duties."

If the North has no wish to abolish slavery its acts strangely belie its intentions. In one short year it has raised a million of men, and expended five hundred millions

of dollars, to prevent, as it supposes, the extension of slavery. It has abolished slavery in the district of Columbia; it has prohibited it for ever in any Government territory or place; it has accredited ministers from Hayti and St. Domingo, who will dine at the President's table with the ministers of England and France; it has acceded the right of search for slaves on the seas; it has proclaimed all slaves free who come within its military lines and ask protection; it has offered compensation to States that will free their slaves; and, finally, has declared all slaves free, in all States that shall be in rebellion on the 1st of January next. If the *will* is not believed, let the acts be accepted. The Americans may not have faith, but they evince faith by their works, and works in this case are all in all. The great majority of the people of the North, *are*, however, in earnest in carrying out abolition. More has been done in that direction by the City of Boston alone, than has been done in the counties of Warwick and Stafford, always excepting the acts of the Quakers, during the last fifty years. The abolitionists are not chargeable with the prejudice against colour, it is hereditary; it has been handed down from generation to generation; it is, no doubt, connected with the debased state which slavery brought upon the African. The North is endeavouring to raise the black from degradation, and is extending to the race political and social equality. It treats a black as a man, a creature of God, and if not desirous to associate with blacks, is willing they should **enjoy** equal rights. Amalgamation cannot be desirable; the results of attempted amalgamation prove that it was not intended by Providence. The South, on the other hand, tolerates the black *only as a slave*; holds him to be a chattel without social or political rights. If a white man kills a slave, evidence to that effect, of other slaves, is not received. If a black arrives at the South, although on an English ship, he is seized and put into prison until the ship sails. If Mr. Shirley cannot choose between these two modes of treatment, if he cannot observe differences as far as the poles asunder, it is in vain to attempt to show it to him. But even admitting that there

is no difference, that the North is as bad as the South, still it is the part of wisdom to look to probable results, and to decide accordingly. On the one hand, the success of the South will effect the establishment of a permanent slave empire, thirty times larger than England; while the success of the North will, at the very worst, limit slavery to its present region, with the nearly absolute certainty of its *gradual and early abolition*, and possibly would effect immediate *total abolition*. Can any one hesitate which side to choose? If there be one single person in the whole kingdom who hesitates, then let him cast his lot with slaveholders, and no longer hold up his head among British free-men. It is a mistake to say the Americans revolted against the laying of duties. They revolted against taxation without representation.

What your three correspondents think, Mr. Editor, and what I think, is of small importance in comparison with the immense issues at stake. There is at the present time some danger that a great and irremediable disaster may arise through the sympathy manifested in England for the rebels. Heretofore, the anti-slavery sentiments held in England strengthened the minds and hands of the abolitionists in America. These persevered in making converts until they succeeded in placing the anti-slavery party in power, and gradually, their political opponents in the North partially yielded to their doctrines. But seeing that England sympathises with ~~slave~~ owners, and that an influential portion of its press derides all their efforts to put down slavery, these new converts, with some of the old ones, who had taken root in stony ground, begin to fall off. They think England has been insincere in its anti-slavery doctrines; that there is not so much soundness in those doctrines as they had been led to believe; and in this frame of mind, combined with vexation and disgust, they may agree, in combination with Southern Members in Congress, to an amendment of the constitution, so as to permit the extension of slavery. This would be an incalculable evil. There was a very able and beautiful article on the subject in the *Spectator*, copied

into the *Daily Post* of Thursday, the 18th, which all should read.

With respect to the course pursued by the British Government, I have always borne my humble testimony to the effect, that, with the exception of being precipitate in acknowledging the rebels as belligerents, it has pursued a fair and equitable policy. It certainly has done wisely in not accepting the French propositions.

The Emperor must have come forward with those propositions for some unknown purpose. Unless grossly deceived, he never for one moment could have dreamed that they would be agreed to by the American Government.

The honourable and impartial manner in which the English Government has acted in this instance, will give great satisfaction in America. After all that is said and done, I hold that the state of feeling in the loyal States, towards England, was truly shown in the reception of the Prince of Wales in those States; and that the true state of feeling in the South, was also shown, in his reception at Richmond; moreover, that it would not take many kind words, to revive at the North the same feeling as was then exhibited.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 19th, 1862.

CALUMNIES ANSWERED.

*To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.**

SIR,—SOME writers demur to the assumption in my communication inserted in your paper of the 12th inst., that the people of England have been misled by a mendacious

* Many of these letters were inserted both in the BIRMINGHAM DAILY POST and the LONDON AMERICAN, but generally somewhat varied in phraseology. This, and the preceding letter, constitute the only example that will be given.

press acting in class interests, with respect to the cause of the war in America, and been induced thereby to sympathise with the upholders of an institution which they profess to detest; and having entered this demurrer, they forthwith offer themselves as examples highly illustrative of the truthfulness of the assumption.

At the commencement of the war they truly appreciated the cause of the quarrel; they say "their sympathies went with the North," but now "they no more sympathise with the North than with the South." While pretending therefore, to abhor slavery, they sympathise equally with those who make it their idol, and those who, to say the least, have discarded it from among themselves, and who profess to be making war against it; thus they inculcate the doctrine that good works from wrong motives are not more desirable than evil works in a bad cause! A weak invention to quiet the conscience in a course which the better judgment declares to be wrong.

These persons in the first instance "thought the struggle was forced upon the North by slavery, but now they are undeceived." A better illustration could hardly be desired than their case affords of large numbers of their countrymen. Partially informed, but thinking correctly at the outset, they are nevertheless, through the insidious and persistent misrepresentations of a partisan press, induced to yield their convictions, and espouse a cause which, in the absence of this malign influence, they would be eager to oppose.

With respect to the cause of the war, no one fully informed on the subject has any doubt. The cause is slavery, and nothing else. In evidence of this truth, they are *referred to every person in America both loyal and disloyal*; but while canvassing these they are recommended to read Mr. Thompson's speech at Maidstone, and the address of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, dated the 17th inst. To do them justice however, they "find sufficient reasons, apart from slavery, to sanction a withdrawal of their sympathies from the North." These are, the "misconstructions by the American press of the motives of England;" "the Trent

affair ;” “ the protective principle aimed at the trade of England ;” “ the Monroe doctrine, which would ultimately involve the two nations in war ;” and finally, “ *the probability that America, unless divided, will grow up a great domineering power, prescribing how all the world should be governed.*”

Without attempting an elaborate refutation of these reasons it may be said briefly, *that*, those who have watched the course of some of the London and also provincial prints, for the last two years, and have noticed the never-ceasing abuse and insult heaped by them upon America, may well excuse bitterness, and even exaggeration, in reply ; *that*, to say the worst of the Trent affair, it has been settled to the entire satisfaction of the British Government, and the offence, however great or small, condoned ; *that* the question of duties on imports is purely one of finance and political economy, not aimed at England, but putting all nations on the same footing. If the Americans cannot grow tea, but can make iron, and take more tea from China than iron from England, that circumstance is accidental, and not caused by their love for China, nor by their dislike to England. America takes as large an amount of foreign products as it can pay for, and that fact alone should suffice ; but England, without any one taking offence, pursued a protective policy for its own benefit so long as it pleased, and then abandoned it for its own advantage, and ought of all nations to be the last to complain of a nation doing as it pleases in these respects ; *that* even should the Monroe doctrine be persisted in, it cannot produce a collision, unless England attempts to conquer or override some portion of the American Continent ; and finally, *that* a high compliment is paid to American institutions, in imagining, that under them, the nation may be strong enough to prescribe how the world shall be governed.

To tell the truth, however, I myself expect something of this kind will happen, prior to the millenium, for the government of the nations sadly needs improving. But supposing their resentments and expectations, as herein set forth, to be justifiable, do they not see that they are adopting a very

low standard of morality, in being willing to consign four millions of human beings and their offspring to lasting slavery, in the hope of avenging immaterial affronts, and providing against a problematical contingency of doubtful evil? On reflection they will abandon this position. As a proof of England's forbearance, they say, it "submits to great losses, while it could readily raise the blockade." No doubt England suffers as well as loyal America by this Satanic pro-slavery rebellion, though not to one-tenth the extent. America could have escaped the loss by permitting the extension of slavery, which however, would have disgraced it for ever; and England could have got cotton by raising the blockade, but that would have cost twenty times more than to do without it, besides entailing a lasting stigma upon the nation; so no great credit can be taken for forbearance in that respect. They further say, "there is not one Englishman in a thousand who would sanction slavery;" *that* "the Government of America only uses the abolition of slavery as a question of expediency;" *that* "the great majority of the people at the North do not care to see abolition carried out;" *that* "the antipathy to coloured people is quite as great at the North as at the South;" *that* "if a white intermarries with a black the whole neighbourhood is in a turmoil;" and *that* "the whole American people arose against the principle of levying duties."

Giving full credit to the assertion that not one Englishman in a thousand would wish to sanction slavery, how much more lamentable it is that they should suffer themselves to be misled by an unscrupulous designing press, into giving their sympathies and lending their moral aid, and a vast many of them into giving material aid, to the most absolute and determined propagandists of slavery the world has ever known; and how disgraceful it is that they should attempt to quiet their consciences by the transparent, flimsy, hypocritical excuse, that the contest is not connected with the question of slavery!

If the North has no wish to abolish slavery, its acts

strangely belie its intentions. In one short year it has raised a million of men, and expended five hundred millions of dollars, to prevent, as it supposes, the extension of slavery. It has abolished slavery in the district of Columbia; it has prohibited it for ever in any Government territory or place; it has accredited black ministers from Hayti and St. Domingo who will dine at the President's table with the ministers of France and England; it has acceded the right of search for slaves on the seas, it has proclaimed all slaves free who come within its military lines and ask protection; it has offered compensation to States that will free their slaves; and, finally, has declared all slaves free in all the States that shall be in rebellion after the 1st of January next. To say the people of the North do not care for abolition, after these manifestations, exhibits something worse than assurance and impertinence; it argues a total disregard of truth. If, however, the will is not believed, let the acts be accepted. The Americans possibly may not have faith, but they have works, and in this case works are all in all. More has been done to procure the abolition of slavery in the ~~single~~ city of Boston alone, within ten years, than has been done in any two English counties besides Middlesex, (always excepting the efforts of the Friends) during the last fifty years. The abolitionists are not chargeable with the prejudice against colour, it is hereditary; it existed a hundred years before the revolution, and has been handed down from generation to generation; it was, no doubt, partly attributable to the debased state to which slavery brought the African. The North is endeavouring to raise the black from this state of debasement, by extending to the race political and social equality. It treats a black as a man, a creature of God; and if its people are not desirous to associate with blacks, they are willing to extend to them equal rights. Amalgamation cannot be desirable; the results of attempted amalgamation show that it is not in the order of Providence. The South certainly has no "antipathy" to blacks, as animals, but it has an unbounded antipathy to them as freemen. It tolerates them only as slaves; holds them to be chattels,

without social or political rights. If a white man kills a slave, evidence to that effect of other slaves is not received; children are torn from their mothers, and sold into distant lands, never more to be reunited. *The hearts of tens of thousands of mothers are annually wrung with an intensity of anguish and wrong, that forced upon one single English mother, would occasion the uprising of the whole nation! Think you not, ye sympathisers with this hellish system, that the moans of these oppressed people are not registered before the throne of God, to rise in judgment against you at the last day?* If a black arrives at the South, although in an English ship, he is seized and put into prison until his ship sails. If persons cannot choose between these two modes of treatment by the North and the South, if they cannot observe a difference as wide as the poles asunder, then are their moral perceptions callous to reason; then would it be in vain further to attempt to enlighten them. But even admitting that there is no difference with respect to hatred and treatment of the black; admitting that the North is as bad as the South, still it is the part of wisdom to look to probable results and to act accordingly. On the one hand, the success of the South will effect the establishment of a permanent slave empire, thirty times larger than England; while the success of the North will, at the very worst, limit slavery to its present region, with the nearly absolute certainty of its *gradual early abolition*, and possibly would effect *immediate total abolition*. Can any Englishman hesitate which side to choose? If there be one single person in the whole kingdom who hesitates, then let him cast his lot with slaveholders, and no longer hold up his head among British freemen. It is a mistake to say "the Americans revolted against the levying of duties." They revolted against taxation without representation.

Let none think they can trifle with the opportunities which Providence places within their reach to do good; that they can remain lukewarm to the great question which is shaking the Western world to its centre; much less that they can with impunity, and without incurring the just vengeance of

the Almighty, give sympathy and aid to those who are endeavouring to accomplish such a satanic object as that now attempting by the slaveholders of America. There is even now danger that a great and irremediable disaster may arise through the sympathy exhibited in England for the rebels. Heretofore, the anti-slavery sentiments manifested in England have strengthened the minds and hands of abolitionists in America. These persevered in making converts until they succeeded in placing the anti-slavery party in power, and gradually their political opponents in the North partially yielded to their doctrines. But seeing that England sympathises with slaveowners, and that an influential portion of its press derides all their efforts to put down slavery, these new converts, with some of the old ones who had taken root in stony ground, begin to fall off. They think England has been insincere in its anti-slavery doctrines; that there is not so much soundness in those doctrines as they had been led to believe; that England, and perhaps the world, will not object to slavery; and in this frame of mind, combined with the losses and suffering they are enduring, with the stupid and malignant outcry that is made against them by Europeans, for fighting at all, they may possibly combine with Southern members in Congress, and effect an amendment of the Constitution, permitting the extension of slavery. This would be an incalculable evil, but precisely what might be expected as the result of English sympathies.

With respect to the course pursued by the British Government, with the exception of being precipitate in acknowledging the rebels as belligerents, it is admitted that little fault can be found with it. It certainly has done wisely in not accepting the French propositions. The Emperor must have been grossly deceived by the rebels who throng his court, to be induced to believe for one moment that the American Government could accept those propositions. The course pursued by the British Government in this matter will give great satisfaction in America. It has shown itself alive to the instincts of the true English people at large, vast numbers of whom have not been led away from the path of

rectitude and honour by a partisan press ; and none of whom, apart from a wretched few, would support the Government, as it well knows, in an unholy war, against a high-minded, honourable, and Christian people, whose highest object is to do away with slavery, and to live in peace with all the world, offering the asylum of a free and happy country to all who may seek its shores, in order to assist a detestable slave oligarchy in its efforts to rivet the chains of millions of their fellow-creatures, consigning them to slavery, debasement, and beastliness ; every one of whom has a soul of as priceless value in the eyes of a merciful and gracious God, as that of the most powerful earthly potentate.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 29th, 1862.



THE following correspondence between Mr. Gladstone and Professor Newman, on the subject of the speech referred to in a foregoing letter, appeared in the papers.

MR. GLADSTONE AND PROFESSOR NEWMAN ON AMERICA.

THE following correspondence appears in the *Morning Star*, of Friday :—

“ 11, Carlton House Terrace, Dec. 1, 1862.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I AM sure you will receive indulgently a comment I have to make on a statement in your recent letter on American affairs, published in the *Star*, touching a matter not of opinion but of fact.

“ I have never in my knowledge expressed any sympathy with the Southern cause, in any speech at Newcastle or else-

where, nor have I passed any eulogium on President Davis. In dealings, whether with South or North, I have thought it out of my province to touch in any way the complicated question of praise or blame.

"Perhaps I should end here; but I cannot avoid adding, that I think myself a much better friend to the Northern Americans, if it is not presumptuous to use the phrase, than those who have encouraged and are encouraging them to persevere in their hopeless and destructive enterprise. Among these, I of course, assign to you the prominent place, merited alike by your distinguished powers and your undoubted sincerity.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE.

"To Professor Newman."

(REPLY.)

"MY DEAR SIR,—I AM honoured, and was at first embarrassed, by your kind communication; embarrassed by some uncertainty whether to answer it from a private or from a public point of view. If the matter belonged to a crisis already passed, my obvious and simple way would be thankfully to acknowledge your unexpected and kind mention of me; to regret if I had misunderstood you; and express my satisfaction that you do not like to be thought to sympathise with the detestable cause of the South.

"But, in the first place, I need to send your disavowal to the *Star*, that your contradiction may appear in the columns which inserted what you regard as my erroneous statement. In the next, I painfully remember that the crisis, which for America (I trust) is fast passing, is for England only at its commencement. Most glad should I be if political questions could be wholly impersonal. But even if I had your near

friendship, instead of a slight acquaintance (which through your affability has justified me in occasional communication on a very few matters), still the vast importance of the future relations between England and England's greater progeny would forbid me to indulge in the pleasure of a yielding reply. It is a terrible fact, that that conduct of English statesmen for which you have been represented as claiming high moral credit, is at this moment goading both North and South into hatred against us. I see no chance of allaying the malignant elements which the upper classes of England have stirred up, without much plain speaking, with little care whom we offend. The seeds of an unnatural and dreadful war have been sown. The plague is not yet stayed. Pirate ships are yet about to issue from Liverpool. The Government which was so active about Hale's rockets, and would not allow arms to be sent to noble Hungary, shows no signs of activity, when succour in the most odious form and most damaging to the fair fame of England, is to be sent to that slave power, . . . in comparison with which the late tyranny of Naples was respectable and endurable. You first earned honour with me by your denunciations of ~~that~~ tyranny when no other public man spoke. Much should I have rejoiced to see in you a strong heart of righteousness able to stem the tide of contemptible national jealousy.

"I read your Newcastle speech with great pain, I will not say with surprise ; for in a previous speech the papers had represented you as reiterating, after six months, Earl Russell's monstrously untrue epigram, that 'the North is fighting for dominion, the South for independence.' This I supposed to be meant as an encouragement to the South, and a gratuitous display of sympathy with it. Your Newcastle speech was, I believe, universally understood as intended to feel the way towards the recognition of the South by England. The words in it which first impressed me were, first, the declaration (which you were represented to have made) that you 'expected the liberation of the slaves by their own masters, sooner than from the North.' This was said after the emancipation of the slaves in Columbia ; after the Terri-

tories had been legislatively secured to freedom ; after Congress had offered pecuniary aid to emancipation ; after the President had implored rebels to accept in due time the terms offered ; finally, after he had announced the day upon which the offer was to be withdrawn, and uncompensated liberation enforced. The Southern papers bitterly complain of the vast numbers of slaves freed by the Northern armies. To none of these things did you allude (unless the papers astonishingly belied you), but you are besides made to say ‘Jefferson Davis and the other leaders of the South have made an army ; they are soon, I understand, to have a navy ; but, gentlemen ! they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation !’

“I certainly understood this as applause for a great and noble work ; whether the fact affirmed be true is a separate question. Prudence sometimes imperatively enjoins silence on public men, when humble persons may be usefully open-mouthed. I do not claim that English statesmen shall denounce all the guilt of all Governments. But when a comparable power, only to Thugs, buccaneers, and cannibals, tries to thrust its hideous head among nations, and claims the protection and privileges of international law ; a power which rose against the freest rule on earth, for the avowed motive of propagating the worst form of slavery ever known ; having no legitimate complaint, or if it had, certainly trying no constitutional means of redress, but plunging at once into arms, and that when the arsenals had been emptied, and the fortresses seized by the treason of office-holders : I hold it to be an offence against law, order, and public morality, for a statesman whose words carry weight, to speak at all of such a power without declaring abhorrence of it ; or at least, to speak in such a tone that he cannot for a moment be suspected of desiring its success.

“No one will believe that it is the policy of an English Ministry to encourage insurrection, as such. They must have some urgent reason for it. The party now fostered by them (not, I thankfully add, at all to the extent which the *élite* of London would have desired, but still, as no insurrec-

tionists in the very best cause were ever before fostered), this party of insurgents, has no moral claims, even if there were no North. All the world therefore, inevitably believes that England has been actuated by an intense desire to see the destruction of the Union, and that every other pretext is hypocrisy. We have to clear ourselves of the dreadfully plausible imputation, of having desired an opportunity of war, at the time of the outrage on the Trent. In the letter with which you now honour me, you say that you count yourself a better friend to the North than I am, in that you do not 'encourage it to a hopeless and destructive enterprise.' *To pronounce it hopeless and destructive, is to encourage and almost to justify the rebels.* On no previous occasion have English statesmen taken on themselves to prejudge the ability of a friendly Government to put down insurrection. I am in high hope that the righteous cause will be blessed by a righteous God, since its upholders are at length in earnest.

"I have the honour to be, sincerely yours,

"FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

"To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, &c.

"December 4th, 1862."

NOTE.—Since the rebellion was put down Mr. Gladstone has acknowledged publicly, that he had been wrongly informed, and mistaken in his views; but that is small atonement for even moral aid given to so unholy a cause.

MR. BRIGHT ON AMERICA.

ON the 18th of December, 1862, a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, to hear the views of the Members for the Borough, prior to the meeting of Parliament. The Hall was crowded in every part, and the Members were received with vociferous cheering. Mr. Bright made a speech, mainly on the American question, which should never be forgotten. As he proceeded the meeting became excited to a high state of enthusiasm, and upon the conclusion of the speech, the writer, in the fulness of his heart, went up to Mr. Bright, and taking him by the hand, said, "God bless you, sir." So far as he knew, he was the only American in that vast assembly, and the depth of his feeling may be imagined when he heard the cause which he had defended, almost single-handed for a period, vindicated in so glorious and triumphant a manner.

The speech ended with this magnificent and prophetic peroration, rendered more effective than words can describe by the speaker's earnest and impressive manner :—

"BUT what I do blame is this, I blame men only who are eager to admit into the family of nations a state which offers itself to you, based upon a principle, I will undertake to say, more odious and more blasphemous than has ever hitherto been dreamt of in Christian or Pagan, in civilised or in savage times. (Loud cheers.) The leaders of this revolt propose this simple thing. That over a territory, a space forty times as large as England, by their constitution the blot and bondage of slavery shall be for ever perpetuated. I cannot believe myself in such a fate befalling that fair land stricken as it now is by the ravages of war. I cannot believe that civilization, in its journey with the sun, will sink into endless night, to justify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek

To wade through slaughter to a throne,
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind.

(Loud cheers.) No, I have a far higher and a far brighter vision before my gaze. (Hear.) It may be but a vision, but I will still cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in one unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic to the calmer waters of the Pacific main, and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that wide continent, the home of freedom and the refuge of the oppressed of every race and of every clime."

The honourable gentleman then resumed his seat amidst loud and prolonged cheering, having spoken exactly an hour and three quarters.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND SLAVERY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—“YOUNG Birmingham,” raises his voice to stay the attempt on the part of his townsmen to encourage President Lincoln in his efforts to emancipate the slaves.

He thinks emancipation not desirable if it be effected through “political trickery.” He thinks a Union which has countenanced slavery heretofore, not worth preserving without slavery. He hates slavery, both where openly avowed and where shuffled with, and therefore would not aid the President in putting it down, nor oppose the rebels in establishing it. He would not sympathise in Mr. Lincoln’s efforts, because Mr. Lincoln’s aspirations are not so high and holy as he thinks they should be, and would lend him no aid, because he doubts his ability to triumph without aid. He doubts the political right of Mr. Lincoln to war against the

establishment of a slave empire, and would not lend him assistance, because he is not sincere in prosecuting a doubtful right. He stigmatises the thousands and millions of abolitionists in America as hypocrites; as pretenders to a sentiment they do not entertain.

Can this young man, in offering these reasons at the present time, be ignorant of the fact, that they have been constantly in the mouths of all persons for the last two years, who have been true to one idea, viz., that of assisting to build up a slave empire? Can he be ignorant that until these reasons had been worn threadbare and their worthlessness exposed, the proposal to address the President was not agitated? Is he so conceited in his own opinion, as not to be conscious of the shameful impertinence of stigmatising the tens of thousands of abolitionists in America, who had grown gray in the cause before he was born, the position, the intelligence, and the sincerity of many of whom, place them at the head of the noble army of philanthropists; as hypocrites! No doubt his appeal to his fellow townsmen will be as ineffective as his arguments are weak.

I will now give some reasons why every labouring man and woman, and every Christian, in Birmingham, and in all Great Britain, should sign the address to President Lincoln.

1st. Because it is always right to assist in a good cause, whatever the motive of some of the actors in it may be.

2nd. Because if President Lincoln succeeds, four millions of human beings and their progeny for ever, will be relieved from slavery and beastly degradation.

3rd. Because if President Lincoln does not succeed, the fetters of these four millions and their progeny to endless ages, so far as the mind can scan, will be rivetted and confirmed, and because if this should occur through the want of our sympathising aid, the curse of God will rest upon us.

4th. Because America, freed from slavery, will offer a happy home, fifty times larger than England, to which the surplus population of Europe can resort, for ages to come, and where they can enjoy full protection, free schools, a free church, and undisputed political equality with all classes.

5th. Because Mr. Lincoln's cause is just and holy ; the cause of truth, and of universal humanity ; and

6th. Because, although at times the clouds lower, Christian faith gives the certain expectation that Providence will eventually smile on the cause, and shower blessings upon all who promote it.

AN OLD INHABITANT OF BIRMINGHAM.

January 10th, 1863.



FALLACIES ABOUT AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE *Times*, true to its purpose of helping to break up the "great Republic," and of establishing upon "its ruins a slaveholding oligarchy," sends its correspondent to New York to write down the loyal party, and employs an agent in Richmond to write up the rebels. How well these do their duty the columns of the *Times* will testify. For audacious misrepresentation and atrocious falsehood, a parallel can hardly be found, except in its own editorial articles on American affairs. The evil of these writings is not limited to their influence upon the readers of the paper ; they are copied into other journals, and circulated so extensively, that the minds of a large portion of the reading community become contaminated by their malign influence. The *Times* has however, at last overshot the mark, as will presently be shown, and as over doses of poison sometimes prove an antidote to their own bane, so the minds of men begin to recoil from its misrepresentations, and to start back from the abyss towards which they are being hurried.

The agent at Richmond finds the South a paradise, and the people literally saints. General Lee and his associates

are in mind and body nothing short of perfection ; and as to the common people and the soldiers, and even the slaves, they differ from the others " only in excelling them." Be it so. It is highly creditable to American institutions to have produced so perfect a race ; persons possessing so much elegance, manliness, and heroic courage ; in fact all the qualities that ennoble man. The institutions have not been such a failure as the *Times* had previously declared. Will it point out the equals to these people, reared under any other system of government ?

This pleasing position however, is not contemplated without some misgivings that all is not so fair as depicted. Unfortunately we have on record the evidence of the *Times* itself to the contrary. These are the identical persons whom the *Times*, in former years, prior to the rebellion, represented as an " insolent," " arrogant," " slaveholding," " slave-flogging," " gambling," " duelling," " lynching," " godless race ;" fit emblems, and the legitimate fruits, according to the *Times*, " of a corrupt irresponsible Republic." These were the actors in the " railroad murders," the " negro burnings," the " lynchings," the " filibusterings," and " aggressions," which were so " graphically" set forth, and so feelingly deplored by the *Times*. This Southern region, this earthly paradise, is the place in which all the scenes were laid which formerly excited the indignation of this immaculate guardian of national and individual morality. But rebellion against the " great Republic," atones for all sins in the eyes of the *Times*, and transforms the blackamoors into angels of light. These by-gone tales may tend to throw some doubt upon the correctness of the present relation, but the *Times* cannot have the benefit of it. Its own evidence must stand good against itself.

Turning to the North, although the miserable sons of labour there were not guilty of any of these practices, and possessed none of the characteristics which so excited the ire of the *Times*, they still had sins which could not be excused by so pious a guardian of national virtue. They were a " lawless democratic mob," in whose hands the Government

was "but a convenient instrument for mischief;" and although their soil was not tainted with the foot of the slave, they were held to be even more guilty in respect of slavery than the actual slaveowners, inasmuch as they countenanced slavery in not making war upon it and abolishing it by force; but although then held amenable for Southern delinquencies, none of the virtues now found so plentiful in that region, are placed to their credit. It is discovered however, all at once, that these much abused Democrats are not so bad as they seemed to be; in fact, that they are innocent of the great sin laid to their charge, and which formed the staple theme with the *Times* in defaming them. They "are not a disorderly mob," after all. "Although thoroughly disgusted with their Government, yet being a very slow, cautious, law-abiding, and patient community, and by no means that impulsive mob, which it was once the fashion in Europe to consider them, they do not rise," &c., &c. These are the words of the New York correspondent of the *Times*, in one of his recent communications, and were forced from him by the necessity he found himself under of bolstering up his own falsehood; for had a tithe of his charges against the Government been true, it would have been demanded why this democratic mob did not rise and hurl the Government from office? He anticipates the question, and replies, "because the people are not an impulsive mob, but a law-abiding, patient community." These men, who had subdued a wilderness, and brought a continent into subjection to the uses of man; who had established a free church, free schools, and perfect political equality for all classes; inviting the people of all nations to come and freely enjoy these things with them; these people, who for a period of eighty years had never been guilty of a prominent act of insubordination, could be regarded only as a "lawless mob," until it became necessary to admit their love of law and order for the purpose of substantiating a tissue of malignant falsehoods. Nevertheless, the evidence of the *Times* in this case also, must be taken against itself, and let it be noted and held in remembrance, that according to this evidence the South-

erners are perfect, quite superhuman; while the Northerners "are not an impulsive mob, but a law-abiding, patient community;" and that the much-abused Republican institutions have thus produced a state of society which nought but a nearly perfect system could be expected to realise.

But what is to be said of this paper, this "leading journal of Europe," which in its disappointment at the people not being a mob, and not rising to overthrow their Government, endeavours to incite some military leader to take the reins in his own hands, and to hurl Mr. Lincoln from office, and to establish, at least for a time, a military despotism; to displace the man of the people's own choice; a man at this moment more universally popular, more true-hearted, and more beloved for rectitude and honesty, than any ruler in Europe, Queen Victoria excepted; a man earnestly engaged in a work of surpassing importance to universal humanity! And what deep damnation would not be justly dealt upon the head of an American leading journalist who should counsel some leading man in England to dethrone the Queen, and to occupy her place. Will the people of England tolerate such villainy; and can they be surprised if it meets with a bitter retort?

If however, in a labyrinth of platitudes and sophisms, the *Times* can so mystify and bewilder its readers as to prevent their perceiving the depth of its iniquity in the course pursued towards America, it can deceive them no longer in respect to its advocacy of slavery. Having for years trodden the downward path, it has become so emboldened in evil ways, that its natural caution is forgotten, and casting aside the cloak which to some extent concealed its sentiments, it now stands revealed in its native deformity. It boldly declares that "the Bible is not opposed to slavery," and that, in fact, "the New Testament upholds it." Those who have carefully watched the course of the *Times*, will not be surprised at the declaration. It volunteered its aid in building up a Slave Empire which would consign four millions of human beings and their progeny for countless ages to slavery; it defamed an honest, truthful people, engaged in

resisting this outrage upon man, and afterwards endeavoured to incite some military man to overturn their Government; and now, instigated by a spirit apparently demoniacal, it attempts to bring the Bible into contempt, and to libel the doctrines of the Saviour of man. Can it descend further?

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 12, 1863.

By the same writer.

AMERICAN MISREPRESENTATIONS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—SOME of the New York papers are establishing correspondents in London, in imitation of the *Times*, *Standard*, &c., and some of their effusions would be amusing enough, were it not for the lamentable ignorance displayed of our British institutions. They are re-copied extensively into other American papers, and owing to the dullness and want of perception of the Americans, the most absurd statements are accepted as truths. In one of these recent communications to the *New York Evening Post*, the writer states that he has been compelled to retire to a most secluded place, to escape the garotters; that all the citizens of London are fleeing to Paris, Japan, and even to America, to escape these robbers. He says, "five out of every six persons attacked, are slain;" but what is still more outrageous, he says that these highwaymen are employed by the Government, as a means of replenishing the exchequer, which otherwise would become bankrupt; and it is stated that 10 per cent. of the value of the plunder is paid to them for their services. Moreover, the writer states that Mr. Gladstone and the

Bank of England conspired to put out 20,000,000 of notes, fraudulently, and then the Bank pretended a large quantity of paper had been stolen and notes been forged, and consequently repudiated them, and divided the plunder with Mr. Gladstone! He further states that every one has got quite tired of Lord Palmerston and his jokes, but his loss would not be regretted, as "every man feels capable of taking the office of Prime Minister;" with a great deal more of such rubbish, which would make one angry but for its absurdity. Some persons think these are feeble attempts to imitate Dr. McKay, Manhattan, and the Richmond correspondent! A lamentable failure! Their truthful communications are greatly to be admired and quoted, and show conclusively that we cannot be too grateful for our glorious institutions, and our freedom from the demoralising effects of mob government. It is consoling to think that in our happy isle we can still sing unmolested, "Britons never will be slaves!"

A HATER OF HUMBUG.

January 13th, 1863.



VERACITY OF THE *TIMES*.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—THE *Times*, in a long editorial article last Monday, attempting to ridicule the deputation which waited upon Mr. Adams to congratulate him on President Lincoln's proclamation emancipating the slaves in the rebel States, says:—"Mr. Adams had probably come fresh from reading the new volume of Congressional papers wherein is printed a diplomatic correspondence upon *the propriety of selling black men, taken as plunder, to the Brazils, and thus providing for*

some of the expenses of the war. We only point foreigners to a fact which is perfectly understood by everyone who reads the report."

To those well informed on American affairs and acquainted with the nefarious character of the *Times*, it is hardly necessary to say that the statement is false; but to others it may be well to say, that there is not a particle of truth nor the shadow of truth in it, but that it is *an unqualified falsehood*, manufactured for a malignant purpose; and it is to be regretted that the English language supplies no terms strong enough to fully characterise such baseness.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 26th, 1863.

SIR ROBERT PEEL ON THE REBELLION.

To the EDITOR OF THE LONDON AMERICAN.

SIR,—IN a recent lecture at Fazeley, Sir Robert Peel declared President Lincoln's proclamation emancipating the slaves, to be "odious and abominable." The reason given for this opinion was, that it "emancipates the slaves of the rebel States, and not those of States not in rebellion." Sir Robert is ignorant of the subject on which he volunteered information, or is regardless of fact, either of which is sufficiently discreditable to render his statement valueless. It is well known that under the Constitution the Federal Government has no power to deal with slavery, except in extraordinary cases, it being essentially a State institution. In the event of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, "military necessity" gives the Government the power to deal with blacks as well as with whites, and also with any species of

property ; individual or State rights being then subservient to the much higher law, *the good of the State at large ; the necessity of the universal people*. The President emancipates the slaves in the rebel States as a military necessity ; if he is in error, he is not alone amenable ; he has acted upon the opinion of his legal advisers and of his Congress. The act, instead of "odious," will be declared by posterity to be the grandest movement of this century, and will immortalise the President. He had no power to liberate the slaves in States not in rebellion, therefore, as the act is not odious in respect to the omission to include the loyal slave States, it must be so, in Sir Robert's eyes, in respect to its emancipating the slaves of rebels ; and Sir Robert is entitled to sympathy in this respect, on account of the sufferings of his brother oligarchs, the slaveowners ; oligarchs by virtue of holding slaves ; he, from no merit of his own. The President, however, does not stop here ; he proposes to purchase the freedom of all the slaves in the loyal States, and the Congress is now voting money to complete the purchase in three of these States.

Sir Robert "hopes to see the States separated, being convinced that such a course would further the emancipation of the slaves." He thinks slavery "the most wicked and abominable institution that the councils of hell ever imagined." Of all the antidotes invented by *pro-rebel advocates* (professing to be opposed to slavery) for the purpose of quieting their consciences, this is the most idiotic. To suppose that slaveowners who have rebelled and faced death and destruction for the purpose of extending slavery and establishing it upon a lasting foundation ; who make it their boast that slavery is the corner-stone of their Government ; that they are the first who ever appreciated and acted upon the truth, that slavery is the natural state of the black race ; that the blacks were created to be slaves to the whites ; and that slavery is an institution ordained of God : to suppose that these, on being separated from the freemen of the North, would set about abolishing slavery, the only thing they rebelled for, the only thing they are fighting for, the only

thing they look to, for prosperity and power, is so inconceivably foolish, that one pretending to it must be regarded as insane, or as a conceited hypocrite.

Sir Robert says if the States become re-united, they will return to the same condition of things as existed before the rebellion, and slavery would consequently become permanent. There are twenty millions of people altogether opposed to slavery (though many of them, *prior to the rebellion*, were in favour of non-interference with the slave States), with a greater proportion of thorough-going abolitionists than existed in England at the period when slavery was abolished; with a larger majority than existed on the Reform Bill at the time that was passed; with a larger majority than existed in opposition to the Corn Laws, when those laws were repealed; vast numbers of whom have been agitating against slavery for more than half a century; a people who have steadfastly refused, even at the cannon's mouth, to permit of the extension of slavery; who have within a year abolished slavery within government districts; who have prohibited it forever in all territories; who have taken measures to prevent the traffic on the ocean; who have declared all negroes free who flee to them for protection; who have offered to pay for all slaves who may be emancipated by loyal States; who have expended hundreds of millions of money, and hundreds of thousands of lives, rather than permit slavery to be extended over any more territory; and finally, who have declared all slaves of rebels free, and entitled to the protection of the armies and navies of the United States: to suppose that these people, who have done these things, and who have acted thus, will, under any arrangement, ever permit slavery to be re-established as before the rebellion, or upon any plan that would not ensure its eventual extinction, would be a folly and an absurdity, as great as that of expecting emancipation from the slaveholders themselves. *The steps already taken averse to slavery can never be retraced, the proclamation can never be recalled; these things never go back; that need not be looked for until slavery is re-established in England; until the Corn Laws are re-enacted;*

until the penny post is abolished ; and until the Reform Bill is repealed.

Sir Robert wishes "there was a patriot in the North who would press upon President Lincoln the folly of persevering in the war which he commenced." Passing by the falsity of the assertion that President Lincoln and not the rebels commenced the war, it will be seen that Sir Robert assumes more knowledge, or virtue, or wisdom, than the twenty millions of freemen of the North, none of whom, it seems, counsel the President as Sir Robert wishes they would. On the contrary, he may be told that their counsel is almost universal to put down the rebellion and to put down slavery. Sir Robert must show *that any people in England are willing to take his advice upon any one important subject*, before he can expect it to have much weight with President Lincoln.

Sir Robert says, "If the course of battles could be followed, it would be fancied that the God of battles was fighting for the South." He appears to have derived his information of American affairs from the breakfast readings of "Sensation telegrams" in the pro-rebel London newspapers. During the eighteen months the rebels have not acquired one single position ; on the contrary, *they have entirely lost possession of four slave States, six times larger than England*, and parts of other States ; they have lost their two naval stations, their principal seaport and other seaports ; they have lost the entire command of the great western waters, with one trifling exception ; their whole coast is strictly blockaded, and their whole frontier is girt around by a line of cannon and bayonets ; their trade is destroyed, and their people reduced to want. Their soldiers have fought well, but have lost many more battles than they have won, while the battles won have been mostly in repulses of attacks upon entrenchments and batteries. They have two things, however, to boast of ; viz., they have completely "humbled" the *willing* oligarchs of the Sir Robert Peel stamp, and they have one ship of war at sea, the Alabama. While they have lost in this way, and are in this state, the people in the North "are eminently prosperous." They have advanced in

material wealth during the year more than the whole war expenditure, and at the present time they have a military and naval force of great power and magnitude, which should presently tell with crushing effect upon what remains of the rebellion. The North, with about three millions of people, waged a seven years' war with Great Britain, and achieved its independence. With seven times that number of people, and with, say, fifty times the resources they then possessed, they can carry on *another seven years war*, and put down rebellion and slavery. The work is before them; they have got to do it, and they will do it. If they could expect the favour of Providence then; if Washington could be lauded by all mankind, simply for his instrumentality in freeing three millions of people from the hardship of "*taxation without representation*;" how much more is the blessing of Heaven to be hoped for, and how much more is the success of President Lincoln to be prayed for, when he and the freemen of the North are striving to relieve their nation of twenty-five millions of whites, from the blighting curse and the damnable sin of slavery; when they are trying to strike the chains of servitude and debasement, from four millions of their fellow creatures; when they are endeavouring to rid the world of the frightful evil and sin *which now oppress it*, and are shedding their blood in the cause of universal humanity. Let no one undervalue this glorious work; history will attest its inestimable importance, and if ever there was a man who deserved well of the world, if there ever was a man whom every one should pray for, Mr. Lincoln is the man; he deserves the heartiest support and sympathy of every friend to freedom, of every friend of man.

Sir Robert thinks the words of Lord Chatham, addressed to the British Parliament, equally applicable to the present case; and might, with the same propriety, be addressed now to the American Government. It has already been seen that Sir Robert is profoundly ignorant, or most unguardedly untruthful, in respect to American affairs, and, consequently, his opinion on this matter is valueless. It would be, moreover, a waste of time to argue this point with any one who

cannot see that the two cases are wide as the poles asunder. If the North had anything to fight for in the war of the revolution; if its people were justified in fighting *then*; *one hundred times more have they to fight for now, and one hundred times more are they now to be justified.*

Sir Robert, "at some future day, would glory in the recollection that he belonged to a Government that by recognising the rebels, had put an end to slavery." He might be surprised that such a trick of legerdemain had been accomplished, and might, indeed, rejoice that so much good had come out of a measure *fraught with nought but evil*; but he will never live to enjoy this glory; he will live, however, in the ordinary course of events, to see the time, when both ~~he~~ and the community at large, will be astonished that he ever belonged to the Ministry.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 31st, 1863.



THE REV. NEWMAN HALL'S LECTURE.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IN the report in the *Daily Post* of the address by the Rev. Newman Hall, on Friday evening last, a word is introduced which was not used by the rev. gentleman, and which no doubt he would object to. Indeed, it is not grammatically suited to the construction of the sentence. The word used was "abomination," and not "damnation," thus: "It is an abomination to steal a man and sell him; it is an abomination to handle the muscles of men and women on the auction block; it is an abomination to deny a woman the rights of modesty and chastity; an abomination to say that a black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect; an abomination to scourge the naked back of a

woman, whether she be a Hungarian countess or a negro slave ; an abomination to flog and imprison for teaching a fellow creature to read God's Word ; a hideous blasphemy to quote the Bible in support of such action." The address was magnificent ; it probably would have filled six columns of the *Post* ; it occupied three hours in the delivery, during which period a crowded audience listened with the utmost attention, manifesting no sign of impatience or of dissent. Such universal acquiescence, for such a lengthened period, was hardly ever before shown upon any occasion. The friends of the Union and of the abolition of slavery, have great cause of gratitude to the rev. gentleman for his very searching and convincing address. It combined a vast deal of information ; was throughout, historically accurate, and it is to be hoped that it may presently be published in a pamphlet form. No doubt the great speech by Mr. Bright, from the same place, had very much assisted in preparing the way to the extraordinarily favourable reception given to the sentiments expressed. The rev. gentleman did not impugn the existence of a very general and strong abolition sentiment in America, but avoided claiming for it so much as some more personally acquainted with the facts would assume. He was content to rest his arguments in support of the abolition feeling in the free States, upon specific *acts* in the direction of total emancipation. Every one should have heard this splendid "outpouring" in the cause of freedom and the rights of man.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February 21st, 1863.

ALLEGED RECRUITING FOR THE FEDERAL ARMY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—It may be regarded a grave offence to do or say anything which may lead to hostilities between two nations, not merely between two nations whose common objects, common pursuits, and common aspirations are identical, but even between nations deadly enemies of each other, if any such there be. I for one, and I avow myself so to be, am a sworn enemy to any one and every one, whoever he may be, who is accessory, by deed or word, to exciting feelings that may lead to war. War may be necessary upon extreme occasions; then it will arise from the facts, and will require no incentives. The *Times* is doing all in its power to get up a quarrel between England and America. Its work will entail upon it lasting infamy. There is no reason however, why its example should be followed. A communication in your paper of to-day, signed, "An Eye Witness," states that "there are about 100 able-bodied men now in the town *en route* for America, under the impression that they are emigrating to Canada, but in reality obtained by agents for the North." Now, it is impossible to misunderstand the impression that is intended to be conveyed, and the object of it. I declare the statement to be utterly and entirely false; and I challenge the writer to come out under his own name, and to prove its correctness.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 18th, 1863.

[We inserted the letter of "An Eye Witness" in the hope, indeed belief, that it would elicit a denial. We have good

reason to believe that there is an active demand in the United States for artisans ; for, strange as it may seem, the war and the apparent abundance of capital have developed several new enterprises ; while the recruiting has made labourers scarce. This would account for a larger emigration than any now going on. We think that the American Government and people have sins enough without imputing to them any on suspicion. We join with Mr. Goddard in condemnation of any person who tries to stir bad blood between the two nations, but the greatest share of that blame must fall on men like Cassius Clay and General Butler, and on the ribald press of New York. And we also believe that long continued English endurance of American insults is more likely to lead in the long run to a fierce war than any firmness of tone on the part of our ministry and people.—ED. D. G.]

EUROPE AND THE AMERICANS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE reports by Parisian correspondents of the *London Standard, Post, &c.*, on American affairs are not worth the paper on which they are written. The Emperor has no intention to recall M. Mercier. No difficulty has arisen between the two Governments nor is likely to arise, in respect to anything that has occurred at present. So far from the American Government having shown a partiality to Mexico in respect to permitting supplies, the New York papers are complaining that while “the exportation of military supplies on Mexican account has been prohibited, it has been allowed on French account ;” and it would seem that this complaint was to some extent well founded, for it is stated in the last papers that “the prohibition had been extended to shipments on French account.” It must be under-

stood however, that these shipments are not prohibited for being contrary to national law, but partly because the articles are wanted at home, and because they might possibly be intended for sale to the rebels through Texas.

The statements, by "Manhattan" and others that the American Government and American people are striving to provoke, or intending to provoke, a war with England, are equally worthless and false; there is not the shadow of truth in them. The American Government will do all in its power to avoid any quarrel with England; common sense shows that this will be its course. With a great war on its hands, to bring about a war with the greatest naval power on earth, would be an act of superlative folly. It is attempted to be shown by partisan writers that the placing of New York in a state of defence, is in anticipation of provoking a war with England. This is sheer nonsense. Under any circumstances, a city like New York should be placed in a state of defence. A change in naval armament from wood to iron requires a change in the means of defence. When iron ships are building in England for the rebels, and these or some of them might by possibility run into New York and lay it under contribution, it is simply a matter of self-preservation to be prepared for them.

Again, there is a strong feeling in America that England or France intends to provoke a war with that country, and the citizens of the seaports are naturally anxious that precautions should be taken against attack; but no one in America is expecting a war with either of these nations, to arise from acts instituted by the American Government.

The London papers, in the pro-slavery rebel interest, are exclaiming loudly against American interference with the trade to Matamoras. The persons engaged in that trade are endeavouring to get up a quarrel between the two nations. These persons know full well, and the British Ministry knows full well, that all, or about all, of the shipments to Matamoras, go into the hands of the rebels; and although it is possible that some of the ships may not have arms and ammunitions, they know that large quantities have been

sent by this route in English ships. Notwithstanding this, it is well known that the American Government has given explicit instructions to its naval commanders not to interfere with trade from one neutral port to another, except under most extraordinary circumstances; and Earl Russell is fully satisfied with these instructions. There is unquestionably great excitement in America respecting the fitting out and arming of ships of war in England, to prey upon its commerce. Unless this practice is suppressed, it will unquestionably lead to war eventually, and should that occur, there will not be an English merchantman upon the ocean, figuratively speaking, after a brief period. Instead of desiring to provoke a collision, the American Government has peremptorily refused to grant "letters of marque" to its citizens to capture the pirates, lest it should lead to difficulty.

The persons in Great Britain engaged in building ships for the rebels, care not if war arises between England and America to-morrow. They would do anything for money, and should be regarded as enemies to the common weal. They are true descendants of those Liverpool people who threatened to throw Wilberforce into the river, if he came to that place seeking to emancipate the slaves.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 22nd, 1863.

TRIBUTE TO MY COUNTRYMEN. APRIL, 1863.

God save America ! and send, it ever great and free,
 The Patriot's pride, man's brightest hope, land of high destiny ;
 And may its flag in Freedom's cause, long as the world shall stand,
 Be borne triumphant o'er the sea, and wave o'er all the land !

God save its chosen President, and magnify his name ;
 His glorious acts, a steadfast heart and peerless worth proclaim ;
 * { Nations shall rise to honour him, where'er his deeds are known,
 { And bond and free in every clime, shall claim him for their own.

God save the men of great resolve, high guardians of the State,
 Who braved the assaults and stood the shock of treason in debate ;
 Revered for ever be their names ; their praises shall be sung
 In after times, through every land, by all in every tongue.

God save its soldiers in the war, protect them in the fight,
 Send them victorious o'er the foe, by Thine own power and might ;
 And may these sons of patriot sires for ever honoured be,
 Stern champions of the rights of man, true heirs of Liberty.

From east, from west, from north, from south, from hill, from dale,
 they come,

They come a nation's life to save, and seal Rebellion's doom ;
 * * Treason appal'd shall hide its head, where'er their hosts are seen,
 For they are bravest of the brave, as they have ever been.

God save the brave from other climes, the heroes from afar,
 Who with its sons of native birth, have marshall'd to the war ;
 Their names are graven on all hearts, and shall for ever be,
 For they are true to Freedom's cause, lords of high chivalry.

And ye loved ones of gentler mould, who fearless of the foe,
 In death's dark chambers softly tread, to soothe the pangs of woe ;
 The Lord of all from heaven proclaims, " Your stay and staff I'll be,"
 For as on earth " ye do to these," in heaven " ye do to me."

* * * { The flag unfurl'd by Washington, shall still more glorious rise,
 { And radiant with eternal truth, lead onward to the skies ;
 { Then, man his birthright shall enjoy where'er it shields the sod,
 { And proudly bear unsullied up, the image of his God.

God save America ! and send, it ever great and free,
 The Patriot's pride, man's brightest hope, land of high destiny ;
 And may its flag in Freedom's cause, long as the world shall stand,
 Be borne triumphant o'er the sea, and wave o'er all the land !

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

MR. LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOU have stated in the *Gazette* of to-day, that “Mr. Lincoln’s emancipation proclamation could not be based upon any broad principles of humanity, for humanity knows no material boundaries,” and that “it was remarkably objectionable, inasmuch as it declared freedom to slaves whom Mr. Lincoln’s armies could not reach, and left in slavery those whose freedom his soldiers could achieve and maintain.”

I wish, with your permission, to reply, first, that with respect to the dogma that “humanity knows no material boundaries,” it may be said that obedience to law is perhaps the highest evidence of an advanced state of civilisation and of humane rule, and that it is in the interests of humanity that rulers should abide by law, not trespassing upon it, but directing their efforts to its revision when it appears opposed to the dictates of humanity; therefore, if this be true, Mr. Lincoln, in abiding by law, has not evinced that his proclamation was not the result of a high order of humanity; and secondly, with respect to the second portion of the quotation, the opinion there advanced has been so often and so conclusively shown to be erroneous, I cannot find any justification for its reassertion by any well-informed journalist.

It is truly stated in the article alluded to, that “the emancipation proclamation was a military measure,” for it was only as a military measure that the President had any power to issue it. He had *no right* to apply it to the slave States not in rebellion: no one throughout the whole nation, friend or foe, disputes this; but in the rebel States, as “a military necessity,” he *had a right*, and if up to the present time he has been unable to enforce it throughout those States, it has been his misfortune, not his fault; one of the greatest im-

pediments being, however, the cannon and gunpowder supplied from Great Britain. Mr. Lincoln therefore, in this instance, has followed the dictates of humanity, and still kept within the law, and in the case of the slave States not in rebellion, he has kept within the law in not applying the proclamation to them, and has followed the dictates of humanity in advising them to free their slaves, and in recommending Congress to indemnify them for so doing. One of these States has already passed a gradual emancipation act, and others are taking steps in the same direction. Mr. Lincoln has made gigantic strides toward the total abolition of slavery, and his acts will confer lasting honour upon him in the page of history, notwithstanding the cavils of those, who, seeking for an excuse for sympathy with pro-slavery oligarchs, and knowing absolutely nothing of the difficulties of the situation, will not accept a good action, because as they assert, it springs from a wrong motive, or is not calculated to accomplish all the good which they in their wisdom think should be attained.

England in the Union with Scotland has conceded certain rights to the Scotch Church. In its Union with Ireland it has also conceded certain rights; the concessions in both instances we will *suppose* for argument's sake, being highly offensive to the English conscience. Now, should Scotland rebel, it cannot be doubted that England would have a perfect right to abolish this concession, nor that it would be politic to do so, if its existence were found to retard the march of armies into Scotland to suppress the rebellion. But, because the rebellion gave the right to abolish the concession in Scotland, it would give no right to abolish the concession in Ireland, where there had been no rebellion. This, to some extent a parallel case, is however, weaker, inasmuch as that the slaves are a more material instrument of war, and can be more practically dealt with, than speculative theological opinions.

If, as reported by the correspondent of the *Tribune*, any United States officers or soldiers assist in returning slaves to their masters, it renders them liable to be cashiered or

dismissed the service in disgrace. It is contrary to an express law of Congress and to the intentions of the President. In fact, *it is owing to its being contrary to law that the correspondent points it out*; indeed, in one of the three instances named, he represents the actor (who, by the way, speaks in the Irish tongue) as having "hidden his United States jacket under an overseer's coat." All that need be here added on the subject is that if such things really do occur, it is high time to send General Butler back to the district. *He* did not permit such acts of insubordination.

The article on this subject occupies but half a column in the *Tribune*, while the correspondent gives two columns of other matter in the same paper, from the purport of which a very different state of things would be inferred; and among other remarks is one that the judge of the district had decided that "a master could not legally beat a slave, but might be proceeded against for an assault;" a very great advance in favour of the slave. All the "horrors" however, named by the correspondent, are trivial in comparison with those which took place, according to the same correspondent, while the rebels had possession. Then, slaves were "mummified on the fly-wheel of a steam-engine," or "buried alive to the chin, and left without food for days;" and it does seem that one must be greatly in want of an excuse for holding a particular opinion, or have peculiar notions in the "interests of humanity," who can desire to see the establishment of a system which produced the latter horrors, in preference to the present rule, even if it be true that soldiers are occasionally guilty of breaking the law and committing outrages upon the slaves.

"Mr. Charles Sturge," and others, who signed the address, no doubt considered the proclamation to be issued in good faith, as it certainly was; and they are in no wise amenable to reproach because there are difficulties in the way of its execution, nor is the President. It is a gratuitous assumption, altogether unwarranted by facts, that "the President has, for prudential reasons, permitted these cruelties to be

practised." *It is in no respect true* ; nor is the President responsible for Mr. Greeley's opinion, the correctness of which appears to be generally denied. Mr. Greeley holds, not pertinaciously, but "subject to correction," as he himself declares, that should the rebel States return to their allegiance, the proclamation would not have affected slaves in the districts where the Government had obtained no military control ; while others are of opinion that, by virtue of the proclamation, all blacks in the rebel States, are now freemen, and can no more be enslaved, should the rebellion be put down, than any white citizen of the United States. The Government is bound to protect all its citizens ; no one could be enslaved by any state power ; and as the law forbids the importation of slaves, or of persons *to be* enslaved, it follows that, under a restoration of the Union, slavery could never be re-established in the rebel States, nor in any new State, the latter being already prohibited by law. Mr. Greeley and all, admit that slaves who come within the military lines of the Government are for ever free ; so those persons who really wish to see the slaves emancipated, must desire to see these military lines extended throughout the whole of the rebel territory.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 2nd, 1863.

MR. GODDARD AGAIN.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—THE question raised by the article in your paper to which I replied, was, whether the signers of the address to Mr. Lincoln, applauding his emancipation proclamation, and

sympathising with him in his endeavours to abolish slavery ; or you, in deprecating the address, and in preventing the signing of it by some persons, were pursuing a course in the interests of the slave and of humanity ?

Leaving the proclamation for the moment, and reviewing the President's measures in regard to the slaves, no one can truthfully deny that immense strides have been made in the cause of emancipation since Mr. Lincoln came into office. During the previous seventy years, while, with respect to slavery, the government was entirely in the hands of the slave States, inasmuch as that on that subject the members to Congress from those States acted as a unit, and by securing a few members from the free States, could always command a majority, no advance *whatever* was made in curtailing slavery, in ameliorating the condition of the slave, or with reference to eventual emancipation ; but, on the contrary, its cords were drawn tighter and tighter ; efforts were constantly making, and often successful, as in the instance of Texas, to extend the area of the "institution," and at one time a resolution of Congress was passed, which was upheld for several years, that no petition on the subject of slavery should be received in the Congress, the people's House of Commons ! But, during the two short years of Mr. Lincoln's government and of the rule of the freemen of the North, the following most important measures have been adopted, viz. : Slavery has been abolished in the district of Columbia, the seat of Government ; it has been for ever prohibited in the territories not yet formed into States, embracing an area twenty times larger than England, and which will, in the time of some persons now living, contain more people than Great Britain does at present ; slavery has been for ever prohibited in ships, forts, or places where the Government has jurisdiction independent of State power ; a treaty has been entered into with Great Britain, which had been peremptorily and perseveringly denied by the Slave Government, for the more effectual suppression of the African slave trade ; the President has recommended the States to abolish slavery, and advised Congress to indemnify them for so doing,

and bills have been brought into Congress for that purpose ; and have been favourably considered ; one State has in consequence already adopted a gradual Emancipation Act, and other States have elected abolition legislatures ; the fugitive slave law has been *virtually* abolished ; at least five hundred thousand slaves have already escaped from bondage into freedom, never again under any circumstances to be re-enslaved, a number *five-eighths* as great as the whole number emancipated by Great Britain, and of which Great Britain was so justly proud ; and, finally, owing to the vigorous action of the Government in reference to slavery, it is almost universally considered by the people of the free States and of the border slave States that the "institution" has received its death-blow. Now here is a catalogue of magnificent acts on the part of the President and of the freemen of the North, performed in the short period of two short years, and which ought to excite the admiration and enlist the sympathies of every friend to man. Contrast it with the proceedings of the slave power during its seventy years' tenure ; with its finally making war on the Government because Congress refused to permit slavery to be carried into the territories, for slaves to be carried by their masters into the free States, connected with the pre-eminently accursed purpose of establishing a slave empire, with slavery for its corner-stone, and with the intention of finally extending it all over the North American Continent ; I say, contrast these acts, and judge of the faith of the two parties, or sections, "by their works," and I repeat that any one who is in any respect opposed to slavery can have little regard for facts, and must resort to most fallacious reasons for refusing to applaud the President and the freemen of the North, or for aiding and encouraging the rebels in the slightest degree, directly or indirectly.

Now, with respect to the proclamation. You justify your assertion that it applied where the President had no power, and did not apply where he had the power, by the alleged fact that he has no control in Georgia, where it does apply, and has control in Maryland, where it does not apply, while

you know perfectly well that we are speaking of *legal power* and not of *physical power*. If it be asserted that the Colonel commandant of the dragoons stationed in Birmingham has no power to break into your office and destroy the type, everyone understands that the *legal right* is referred to; and if you did not intend to be so understood, your remarks on that head were worthless, and were calculated to deceive your readers. In reference, however, to Maryland, it is very doubtful whether the President ever had the physical power to abolish slavery there. The State was not in rebellion, and the attempt would have been so opposed to the Constitution and to State rights, that it would at once have sent all the Border States into rebellion. It would in no respect have been considered a military necessity, because it would undoubtedly have increased the military difficulties instead of lessening them.

You are in error in saying the President broke up the legislature of Maryland. At a period when it was not in session, but was about to meet, some of the members, who were clearly, and upon indisputable evidence, in complicity with the rebels, and who could have been legally hanged, were arrested, and the remainder of the members *omitted* to meet. Afterwards, at the usual period, the people, who were in the main loyal, elected a more patriotic legislature, which has continued to assemble without the sign of any interference on the part of the general Government. With respect to the rebel club broken up in Baltimore, it was a perfectly legal and proper act, and afforded no evidence that the Government was strong enough to commit an acknowledged illegal act, affecting more than three millions of people. The members of a similar rebel club in England would unquestionably have been condemned to death. The great fault of Mr. Lincoln's Government has been its lenity; and this has been a great source of weakness. In this gigantic rebellion but *one person* has been put to death for treason, and that without being referred to the Government, on the ground that the lives of numerous persons would otherwise have been in jeopardy; while the rebels have put to death

hundreds of their own citizens, whose only crime was remaining loyal to the Government to which they owed allegiance.

With respect to the President's right to abolish slavery in rebellious States, it is sufficient to say that the most eminent lawyers and statesmen, from Mr. Webster downward, have held that he had an incontestable right as a military necessity, and that the Congress, by a large majority, decided that he had the right. Stigmatising the proclamation, or any measure calculated to damage rebels who are pointing their cannon to the heart of the nation, and who are destroying its sons by the thousands, as an act of "*spite*," is a puerility that need not be dealt with.

The counties in Louisiana exempted from the proclamation are not in rebellion, and therefore it could not properly apply to them. Nevertheless, the practical effect of the military movements is to free the slaves. They are all leaving their masters and placing themselves under the protection of the military; and General Banks is hiring them out for their own benefit, to the planters. In a recent number of the *Tribune* is a communication of two columns (from the same correspondent whom you quote) setting forth and eulogising the beneficent action of General Banks, and clearly establishing what I here assert. Your remarks respecting the return of slaves are totally erroneous. Slaves escaping from a rebellious State *may not be returned, though belonging to a loyal master*; there is an express law of Congress forbidding it, and for cashiering any officer who shall presume to attempt it; allowing a slave *to be re-taken* is also expressly forbidden. Any slaves coming within the military lines of the Federal Government are for ever free, and no power on earth can ever again legally re-enslave them. The rule is this, viz.: If slaves come from places exempted by the proclamation, a registry of them is kept; and after the war, if the masters can prove that they themselves were never in rebellion, they are to be remunerated; but in any case the slaves are for ever free. It is calculated, as before said, that about half a million have already received the protection of the Government and are now freemen.

I have not pretended to place my individual opinion in opposition to Mr. Greeley's, though I am willing to do so, and capable of maintaining it successfully against him, if he holds the opinion which you conceive he does. Mr. Greeley advances a very qualified opinion ; one, as he says, " open to correction." In one of his recent numbers he gives more than a column in explaining what he really does mean, which amounts to this : that should the rebel States return to their allegiance, and determine to keep the blacks in slavery, the general Government would not have the *physical power* to prevent it. The reply to this is, " When the sky falls we may catch larks." The rebel States are not coming back until the power of the pro-slavery rebel oligarchs is destroyed for ever, and then no attempt will be made to re-enslave any one.

You are also in error in saying that the Supreme Court decided some years ago that the negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect. There has been no decision of the kind. No case has ever come before the Court that required a decision on that point. The case of a runaway slave was before the Court, when Chief-Justice Taney, who was appointed by the slave power, in summing up, travelled out of the record, and gave an extra-judicial *opinion* to that effect. It was in no respect a decision, and the judge was condemned by all persons (not slaveowners, in whose interest he was acting), for taking an occasion to pronounce an opinion which the case did not call for. The opinion, however, until upset, has no doubt a certain legal force ; but the election of Mr. Lincoln was a direct rebuke by the people of the opinion, and its repudiation *was one of the issues of the election*. In any event, save that of the complete triumph of the pro-slavery rebellion, there is no possible chance of the opinion being ever acted upon ; it will be reversed on the first opportunity. Moreover, there are thousands of free blacks throughout the slave States, and no attempt has ever been made, by virtue of this opinion, to re-enslave them. The Government, by the proclamation, has declared all the blacks in rebel States free ; they are

free at this moment in the eye of the law ; therefore, when the rebel States are brought back to their allegiance, the Government being constitutionally bound to protect all its citizens, and each State being bound by the constitution to protect citizens of any other States coming within its borders, and to extend to them the full rights of its own citizens, no one, once free, can ever again be legally enslaved. It is true the poison of slavery has so demented the minds of some, that the people of a western State, many of whom had run away from slavery to get rid of it and negroes altogether, are attempting to exclude blacks from their States, but it is held to be illegal, and will not, it is supposed, be persevered in.

It is a misrepresentation to say that the constitution of the United States is based on slavery. It is no more based upon slavery than it is upon the right of road making which each State retains. On the formation of the constitution, the individual States yielded certain rights to the general government. According to the doctrine of the sympathisers with secession, the States yielded nothing, consequently these sympathisers cannot in any case hold that the general government has the power to deal with slavery, it being at the period of the revolution a State institution ; but they did, notwithstanding this silly secession pretension, yield certain rights, and for all time, unless revoked in the way pointed out in the constitution itself. The slave States would not however, yield the right of dealing with their own slaves, and the only notice taken of slavery in the constitution is incidental to other matters. In apportioning members of Congress to the States *pro rata* with the population, it is declared that five persons "held to labour" shall count as three freemen. Direct taxation is apportioned in the same way, and it is also stated that "persons held to labour," escaping from one State into another shall be given up. These are the only allusions to slavery in the constitution.

When you declare you "detest slavery as a gigantic evil," your readers are bound to believe it. If you will show your "faith by your works," it will be most satisfactory, and

will no doubt tend to advance the good cause. I am persuaded it is only for you to know the right, in order to your following it. You will have however, to reconsider your opinion with respect to the "*wisdom*" of the pro-slavery oligarchs, who, for their own base ambition, and in following their most accursed propensities, have brought their States from a high degree of prosperity and happiness to a condition of the most abject wretchedness. Their wisdom and valour is that of the bully, who shows his pluck by knocking his wife and children over, smashing the furniture, and making a happy home a scene of desolation and despair.

When the history of this rebellion is written, deeds of darkness on the part of these slave oligarchs and their myrmidons will be revealed that should induce every American, whether of the North or South, to call upon the mountains to fall on him. The only excuse that can be made will be, "it comes from the soul-polluting institution of slavery which must and shall be eradicated."

I am much obliged to "Mr. Bright" for his good opinion. I value it highly ; much more than the opinions of a legion of pro-slavery sympathisers. There is a good time coming. Freedom will triumph and slavery will be crushed.

" The flag unfurled by Washington, shall still more glorious rise,
And radiant with eternal truth, lead onward to the skies ;
Then, man his birthright shall enjoy where'er it shields the sod,
And proudly bear unsullied up, the image of his God."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 6th, 1863.

MR. GODDARD AGAIN!

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—I AM obliged by your reading my long letter, and your readers will rejoice that you have survived it. Can that be truly said of your arguments which it dealt with? You are not willing to thank Mr. Lincoln and his party for their numerous acts in the cause of emancipation, because one of those acts has been adopted as a “military necessity;” notwithstanding it has been shown that upon no other plea could it have been adopted.

Aversion to slavery, a determination to circumscribe it, and the hope that thereby it would eventually be eradicated, *effected the election of Mr. Lincoln.* This was the great issue of the election; the slave power so understood it and so accepted it, and for that reason rebelled against his government. Is not the party entitled to thanks and to confidence in its intentions, for this one great act, and especially as it has been followed up by so many others in the same direction; but must they, in order to be entitled to thanks, override the constitution, and not only so, but at the extreme risk of failing entirely in all their anti-slavery measures! Or, suppose this one measure of “military necessity” had not been adopted, as was desired by pro-slavery rebel sympathisers in the North, called by the English pro-slavery journals “peace conservatives,” what limit would there have been to the taunts of abolitionists in America, by all classes in England? the *Times* would have gloated over the opportunity of abusing the “hypocritical pretenders to philanthropy.”

With respect to the arrest of traitorous members of the Legislature of Maryland, I ask in reply that were it possible for some portion of the members of the House of Commons to conspire with France to overthrow the British Government, and these should be arrested by order of the Ministry, could you call that “breaking up the House of Commons?” And

yet you might do so with as much propriety as you can assert that the President in arresting traitor members broke up the Legislature of Maryland. The President's ability to perform this act, which most persons acquiesced in, by no means proved that he could, contrary to law, have emancipated the slaves in Maryland, an act which most would have opposed.

You remark that you said "*nothing of Mr. Lincoln's legal power;*" then, I repeat, your remarks were calculated to deceive your readers, and further, I say that by your own acknowledgment, the reason why Mr. Lincoln does not command your sympathy, is simply *because he has not exercised power illegally.*

The counties in Louisiana exempted from the proclamation had come back to their allegiance prior to its being issued, and consequently there was no military necessity for freeing the slaves in those counties. In any case, the President being General of all the forces, *was the sole judge of the necessity.*

You are mistaken in attributing to me the assertion that "Mr. Lincoln's election reversed Judge Taney's opinion." I said "its repudiation was one of the issues of the election," and that "it would be reversed on the first opportunity." You are also mistaken in saying that I stated "no attempt had been made to re-enslave blacks." I know attempts are made continually by villains who should be hanged up on the moment. What I said was, that no attempts had been made to re-enslave blacks, "*by virtue of Judge Taney's opinion,*" thereby showing that the slave States did not consider it authorised them, as you suppose, to enslave persons once made free. I do not for one moment imagine that you misquote knowingly. I know that one who has to write so much, must have almost superhuman capability in order to avoid error, and must exercise the extremest care, but it is unquestionable that misconception in these cases is generally in the direction of the bias of the writer's mind.

You recommend me to dismiss prejudice and read the

American papers. I have read them and the English papers attentively and carefully, *for a period of fifty years*. The last two years I have read of the best American papers of all parties, an average of *twenty columns, as long as those of the "Times," per day, or rather per night, during the whole of that period*. I regret it has not been to greater profit; but so far as the *prescription* of more reading goes, I fear it will be useless in correcting prejudices. I may be prejudiced in thinking the Christian religion the best in the world; in thinking Queen Victoria the best ruler in the world; in thinking the English nation a great and glorious nation. I expect to live and die in these prejudices; and if it be a prejudice to believe that the American rebellion is a most wicked rebellion, and that the cause of the loyal party is most just and holy, it is a prejudice that nothing *but truth* in opposition will ever remove. Perhaps, if I am to seem to arrive at this truth, it will be necessary for me to do, as tens of thousands in these islands do, *read not at all*, but give dogmatic opinions on American affairs, without knowing any more of those affairs than of the proceedings in Japan. But when I fail to see the pro-slavery rebellion in its true colours; when I omit to raise my voice, however feeble, against it, I shall fail to uphold, and shall tacitly disown, all the sentiments and principles maintained by the English nation, as high, honourable, loyal, and sacred.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 11th, 1863.

HOSPITAL NURSES IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—DR. Mackay who has lent his talents and pen to the base purposes of the *Times* to write down loyalty, freedom,

and liberal institutions, and to write up rebellion, slavery, and oligarchical despotism, not content with maligning the loyal men of America, misrepresenting and slandering their every thought and action, seeing nothing but evil at the bottom of even their most praiseworthy efforts, and defaming them in every way that a subtle mind could devise and a ready pen indite; grown bold by the forbearance shown towards him by an abused, law-abiding people, has at length ventured an attack upon the women, and with inconceivable baseness, endeavours to hold up to ridicule, obloquy, and condemnation, efforts in the cause of mercy and Christian benevolence, that will at a future day fill one of the brightest pages of the world's history.

He says, amongst other things equally scandalous (and in which, like his mendacious employer, he adopts the mean course of insinuating more than he thinks it prudent to assert), "one Florence Nightingale, in the hospitals of the Crimea, recommends herself more heartily to the love and goodwill of mankind than fifty regiments of viragoes, unsexed, unnatural, and consequently disagreeable, who are probably as poor in purse as they are in charity."

It is to be regretted that the amenities of society do not permit one to stigmatise this detestable scribbler in the language he deserves. While penning these slanders on the true-hearted women of America, he knew perfectly well that there were hundreds there, who had rivalled Florence Nightingale in every act of mercy and loving-kindness; who had run every risk, braved every danger, and exposed themselves to every hardship, in order to alleviate the sufferings, to soothe the pains, and to administer to the comforts of the wounded and dying soldier. Wherever sorrow and death had penetrated, there were they to be found, whether in the camp, the hospital, or the humble dwelling; suffering only was required as a passport to their sympathies; the deadliest enemy of their fathers and brothers shared their attentions equally with their own loyal countrymen, and many a candidate for a better world has passed from this life with a blessing for them upon his lips. Many possessing

independent fortunes, with homes devoid of nothing to render them happy, and many with but the widow's mite to sustain them, have travelled hundreds and thousands of miles, unprotected, to reach the scenes of woe, and administer to the afflictions of those struck down by the war; whilst thousands and hundreds of thousands have devoted their time continuously, and their fortunes unsparingly, in providing articles of comfort and necessity for the soldiers in the field and hospitals, and for their families at home. The world had perhaps never witnessed evidence so indisputable, of the universality of those generous self-sacrificing feelings, which grace and adorn woman; and he who can affect not to perceive it, or hopes to throw the manifestation of it in the shade, by low bred scurrility, or insufferable superciliousness, must lack both manhood and sense.

Dr. Mackay could regard with complacent satisfaction and manifest approval, the attempts of rebel women to insult loyal soldiers; but the moment loyal women unite for the purpose of discountenancing treason and encouraging their husbands, brothers, and sons, in the war, fighting for their country, he decries the actors, and attempts to hold them and their movement up to derision. Surely, the time will come, when the writings of this person in relation to America, will fall still-born upon the public, and when the vehicle through which they are retailed to the world, will be regarded as a common nuisance. The loyal women of America, however, require no defence. Their acts are registered where time will not obliterate them, and may be apostrophised thus:—

“And ye loved one of gentler mould, who, fearless of the foe,
In death's dark chamber softly tread, to soothe the pangs of woe:
The Lord of All, from heaven proclaims, ‘Your stay and staff I'll be,’
For as on earth ‘ye do to these,’ in heaven ‘ye do to me.’”

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 16th, 1863.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—BEFORE thanking your correspondent, “Twenty years in America,” for his condescension in making allowance for what he calls “Northern errors,” I must ask him to point out those errors, and to show that they are so.

He says truly, “there is a considerable class of persons in Europe, called ‘cotton buyers,’ whose business is destroyed by this war, who are remarkably unanimous in condemning the President’s emancipation proclamation!” To be sure they are; they care little for slavery in comparison with getting a supply of cotton. They are true representatives of those who threatened to “pitch Wilberforce into the sea if he came to Liverpool,” and who opposed abolition to the last. They are now supplying the rebels with goods and ships of war, and would rather force England into a war, than see the rebellion put down and slavery extinguished.

Your correspondent suggests several questions, viz. : First, “How is the South to be governed after the chaos which has deprived them of their property?” Second, “Are the extreme fluctuations in the value of land at the South understood?” Third, “Is it likely that masters who have shown such spirit in one hundred battles, will *submit* to sit down as overseers?” and Fourth, “Are we right in fostering anti-slavery fanaticism?”

The extreme naïveté, the childlike simplicity, with which these questions are asked, nearly deprives one of the power of treating them seriously; but I will endeavour to do so. And first; there are less than three hundred thousand slaveholders in the rebel States, and were they all to migrate to the Sandwich Islands, their services would not be missed. *Rebellion* deprives rebels of their property; it will come into

loyal hands, and be better managed than before. Negroes will be paid wages; more work will be done, and better; the product will be greater, and at less cost. There is already satisfactory evidence that these will be the results of free labour.

Second. The fluctuations in the value of land at the South have no bearing upon the subject under consideration, further than this, that slavery increases fluctuation, and renders the value of property precarious. With free labour and good management, few kinds of property are safer to hold than land; its value is almost always increasing, at least to the extent of the cost of labour bestowed upon it, and in many cases to a much greater extent. The changes however, in the value of land at the South, since the year 1815, have been owing mainly to monetary panics in England, suddenly and violently affecting the price of cotton. The great finding of gold will *tend* to prevent similar panics, and thereby to give more equability to the value of money, and consequently to the price of cotton and of land.

Third. It is really not the business of the loyal party *to cater to the tastes or fancies of rebel slaveowners*. If they are unwilling to form an exclusive "cavalier" society, in the Sandwich Islands, or to become "overseers," perhaps they will work for a living, as many better men at the North do. Those who have placed their necks in a halter, and have "fought a hundred battles," will not give in until they are forced to do so, and then *they will have to do as other criminals do, viz., succumb to circumstances*, and will no doubt retain a wholesome recollection of the maxim upheld by British law, that under such circumstances, "any thing short of death is mercy."

Fourth. Fanaticism, excepting as applied to religion, means enthusiasm. If abolition be a good cause, then we are right in supporting enthusiasm in it. Your correspondent, by residence in America, appears to have imbibed the pro-slavery sentiment which then extensively prevailed amongst a certain interested class there, and amongst none

more than the English and Irish residents. It would perhaps be more correct, not to call this class pro-slavery, but simply opponents to the meddling with it by abolitionists. It is now nearly extinct. The rebellion has exhibited slavery in all its hideousness, and there is almost a universal determination to put it down. General Butler, who *was* a pro-slavery democrat of the extremest kind, one that voted for Breckenridge, the slavery candidate, but *now*, having witnessed the utter demoralization of the South, through slavery, is a thorough abolitionist, and a type of a large majority of his party.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 16th, 1863.



THE AMERICAN WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—I AM obliged to your correspondent, "Twenty Years in America," for informing your readers that the great cause of anxiety in America, is how the South is to be governed after the rebellion is subdued. He does not inform us from whence he obtained this information, but I will not question its accuracy, especially as it indicates that the anxiety with respect to the difficulty of *putting down the rebellion*, is overcome. That, at least, is satisfactory.

With respect to how the "subdued" States are to be governed, that need give no one uneasiness. When a house is on fire and the proprietor is trying to save his children from the flames, he does not pause to inquire the style of architecture that shall be adopted in their future dwelling; but if the rebellion be really subdued, we may stop

to say, that the rebel States will be governed the same as before, only by loyal non-slaveholding men, instead of rebel slaveholders. Enough loyal men will be found to conduct the State affairs, and these States will take their place alongside of the others, purged of that foul stain which had hitherto retarded their progress and led to their debasement and eventually to the rebellion. They will be purified as by fire. As to "chaos" it is simply moonshine. It will be the same kind of "chaos" that was to have overtaken England, and did actually overtake it, after the Reform Bill, and again after the repeal of the Corn Laws and the introduction of Free Trade. *These were "revolutions;"* but society had grown into them before they were effected, and therefore, the process was no more than casting off an old coat and putting on a new one. So it will be with emancipation; society has grown into the belief that it must take place, and consequently it will take place, and without any material disturbance. The slaves consider the President's proclamation a guarantee of their freedom. It has consequently kept them quiet and prevented insurrection.

Your correspondent must not attempt to father his own statements upon me; I am unwilling to own paternity to any of them. He, it was, who said the great class of cotton brokers were opposed to the President's emancipation. I simply accepted his account of his own friends, and imagined them to be descendants of that class which threatened to pitch Wilberforce into the sea; I am willing to suppose they are not, but that their pro-slavery sentiments originate with themselves.

He no longer supports the South and slavery "for the reason that the President and the North are not sincere in their efforts to abolish it," but supports it because "we Englishmen cannot oppose slavery without backing Republicanism, and of that kind which permits the majority to make the laws." Now, the former reason I have stigmatised heretofore as rank hypocrisy, but this reason is an honest and legitimate one. Every one should act upon it who thinks slavery better than popular institutions in

America. If the people there, however, think differently, all that such persons can do, is to deplore their ignorance. They seem to be very fond of their institutions; they are fighting valiantly for them, and are ready, apparently, to make any requisite sacrifice to sustain them; *but people are so short-sighted*. One of their States, which had hardly one man in it forty years since, has now ten thousand two hundred and thirty-eight *free schools, twelve colleges, and nine theological seminaries*; while Ireland, a country of unbounded natural and local advantages, has lost three millions of people within half that time. If the people in America like this mode of getting on, and do not interfere with us, I do not see why "we English" should uphold slavery, which "we abhor," for the purpose of putting down institutions which we simply dislike, *especially as we do not offer to provide them with better!* Why, we give up the little Ionian Isles, merely because we cannot govern them so well as they think they can govern themselves! If any people prefer that a minority shall rule, let them please their fancies. If the Americans choose to rule by majorities, why should "we English" oppose it? And if the widows and orphans choose to invest their money in Government funds, and also to suffer in other ways, risking something to save what they hold most dear, who shall blame them?

It is satisfactory to know that your correspondent sees an improvement in Mr. Seward. I will endeavour to inform Mr. Seward of the fact.

With respect to the improbability of three hundred thousand slave oligarchs controlling the slave States, all history shows that a powerful property class, wielding the military power, can mould the ignorant masses to its wishes, especially when *nationality* can be evoked. Blandishments, promises, money, and coercion, will do it all. The "mean whites" of the South, have been kept almost as ignorant as the slaves, and are willing tools in the hands of the dominant class.

It is pure nonsense to say that the "north is attempting to disorganise and starve men and women on the pretence of making them freemen," and that "General Butler took from

the rich to give to the poor." To say these are misrepresentations would be treating them with too much seriousness. The North is attempting to put down the rebellion in a perfectly legitimate way: its greatest fault has been too much lenity. Every privation and disaster suffered by the people of the South has been brought upon them by the foul treason of their leaders. The whole blame rests upon them. The Government is spotless in the matter. With respect to General Butler, he found in New Orleans universal anarchy. No one's life was safe; a large number of the people were starving. Without oppressing or ill-treating any one, he restored order and safety. He levied upon property to support the starving poor; a wise, just, and beneficent act. General Butler "appeals to the whole people of New Orleans" (save a few rampant rebels who ought to have been hanged), and especially he "appeals to the women, and by the decision he is ready to stand or fall; to say whether any one has been insulted or oppressed, or whether he did, or did not, in all cases, administer even-handed justice."

Your correspondent has lived long enough in America to imbibe some of the worst notions of the slaveowners, and also some of the worst notions of the ultra-opponents at the North, of abolition. Had he remained there, at the North, the last two years, he would have found the latter class nearly "*wiped*" out; should he visit there five years hence, "we Englishmen" hope he will find the former class, also, wiped out, even if it should confirm the Americans in their fancy for ruling by majorities.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 21st, 1863.

THE following appeared in the DAILY POST, of May 28, 1863, from its Liverpool correspondent, and is inserted here to show that the movements, with respect to vessels for the rebels, were of public notoriety.

A NEW ALABAMA.

(From our Correspondent.)

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday.

IT is now well known, especially among those interested, that Captain Semmes, of the Alabama, is about to change his flag, and hoist it upon a more substantial but equally fast ship as the Alabama. Captain Bullock, who for the last year or more has been in this country superintending the construction of vessels for the Confederate service, is now about to leave the Clyde, and will probably call at Cardiff, with a large iron vessel for the Confederates. Captain Bullock will afterwards take the new privateer to a port at present a "secret," and there transfer the command to Captain Semmes. The command of the Alabama will then devolve upon Captain Bullock, until such time as Captain Moffitt, of the privateer Florida, is enabled to take command of the Alabama. The Florida will then be under the guidance of Captain Bullock until Captain "Jones" is appointed. The last transfer is easily accounted for. Bullock is more of a naval architect than an energetic or experienced seaman. It was Captain Bullock, and not Messrs. Laird Brothers, who modelled the Alabama and superintended her construction. Of course the builders have been obliged to bear all the blame or praise which has been attached to the construction of the famous "290;" but that Captain Bullock is the man

who modelled and watched over the erection of the Alabama, there is not the slightest doubt. The new vessel on which Captain Semmes hoists his flag is a large iron screw vessel, mounting twenty-one guns, and as we have before stated, combines the two great requirements of a man of war, speed and strength.*



THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent "Twenty Years in America" changes his ground with remarkable facility. If I assent to his propositions, he immediately attributes their authorship to me. He considered the "ruling by majorities" the radical defect of the American system; when I reply, if that pleases the fancies of the Americans, why should "we English" object to it? he immediately turns round and says, "the American Government never has been a rule by majorities," and that "he is an opponent of government by the means of numbers;" consequently, as the American Government, according to his account, is a rule by minorities, it suits his taste and should have his support. He quotes from a New York paper to show that the Government is a tyranny of minorities, and thereby to establish a point directly opposed to his previous declaration. The article thus quoted was, however, to some extent, erroneous, as I showed in your paper three days since, at which time I had not observed his remarks, but supposed the article had been copied in the course of newspaper routine.

Your correspondent is not "an advocate of slavery," but is in favour of a "medium," by which I presume he means that he would leave it alone where it now exists, trusting for its eradication to time, or to some fortunate chance. Now, this is precisely the course that was pursued in America

* Letters written to officials in America and England, on the necessity of stopping these pirate ships, being private, cannot be given.

before the rebellion, and which "we English" so pointedly condemned, with this difference, however, that while it was then observed through necessity, the Constitution permitting no other course, your correspondent would pursue it while he has the choice of attempting its entire abolition! Should he visit America *now*, he would find few "middle" course men in the Free States, while he would find vast numbers opposed to any course but emancipation, even in the slave States. But can he be ignorant of the fact that the slave oligarchs were not satisfied with this "middle" course, and rebelled because the free States would not permit them to break from it, that they demanded to carry slavery into the territories, with the view to extending it indefinitely and maintaining it in perpetuity? So, through the unerring justice of Providence, which ordains that wickedness shall compass its own destruction, it is not left to your correspondent, neither is it left to the American people, to pursue a "middle" course. The choice is simply, slavery or freedom.

Before the rebellion, "we English," having purged ourselves of the sin of holding slaves, were continually taunting the freemen of America for their complicity with slavery; for pursuing this "middle" course; but now that the rebels have given them the opportunity of legally getting rid of it in a great measure, many of us are doing our best to thwart the endeavour. How will this fact read in history?

Your correspondent "as a Northerner, would never lay down his arms if peace could be obtained only by a fugitive slave law;" that is to say, rather than agree to return a few score runaway slaves to their masters he would wage perpetual war; and yet having the opportunity to prevent it, or at least to try to prevent it, he would permit the establishment of a slave empire upon his borders, which would not only consign four millions of his fellow beings to perpetual slavery, but would be a cause, as experience has already shown, of demoralising the free society in which it existed, at the same time *extending its poisonous influence not only to neighbouring States, but even to Great Britain*

itself. He is however, by his own showing, pledged, "as a Northerner," to perpetual war with the rebels; for if there be one thing in futurity more certain than another with respect to this matter, it is that could the freemen of America be so recreant to the interests of humanity as to permit of the establishment of this slave empire, the first demand of the slave power would be a fugitive slave law. Without that, war would be interminable, and with it, quarrels would be perpetual.

Your correspondent makes a quotation to show that "the Government of a democracy, is irresistibly inclined to levy taxes of which it escapes the payment." By which he means, I suppose, that where universal suffrage prevails, labour being in the majority, will levy the taxes upon property. He had better take present evidence on that point, rather than attempt to establish it by evidence from Pagan history. During the whole period of the American Government, up to this war, *it had levied no property-tax nor any direct tax worth naming.* The revenue, with very slight exceptions, had been derived from duties on imports, and it is an acknowledged political maxim, that these being upon articles of universal consumption, press more heavily upon the labourer than upon the property holder; so he fails in this objection to the American Government, as signally as in his objection to majorities.

The doctrine that "we English" sympathise with rebellion, simply because it wishes to set up for itself, regardless of any just cause for it, or of its object, is more jacobinically dangerous than any ever promulgated by the red republicans. In its legitimate sequence, it would justify an individual in breaking from all law and setting up for himself, in order to effect the grossest demoralisation of society. It would justify Scotland in breaking from England, without any cause, for the purpose of abolishing the Christian religion and establishing Paganism. It would justify the Evil One in attempting to break from Supreme rule, and for the purpose of establishing universal wickedness. If this be man's morality, it is high time to escape to the mountains, in the

certain expectation that before the sun shall have arisen upon "Zoar," the world behind will be a smouldering ruin. To the honour of the English people, however, they have heretofore had no such sympathies. They have looked to the cause and the object. This was especially the case in the Italian rebellion, and is now in respect to the Poles. Sympathy has been evoked in favour of the Italians and Poles solely on the ground that they opposed wrong and sought right. Instead of *aiding* rebellion, regardless of its cause and its object, the Government has at times *opposed* it, regardless of either, simply because it was rebellion.

"We English" have to open our eyes to the fact that the war in America has resolved itself into a war between freedom and slavery. It is *now* to be determined whether slavery is to be extended in perpetuity over the whole of the North American continent, or abolished throughout the world. If the slave power be established in the United States, it will not brook freedom in a neighbouring territory. Canada will be overrun and annexed at the early outset: no political event is more certain. There is now no "medium" course; slavery or freedom must prevail. It is a question of surpassing importance. Providence declares, as plainly as the hand-writing on the wall: "Choose you this day which you will serve." Pandering to iniquity in this matter is at an end, and it behoves "we English" to elect the right, and not at the day of reckoning to be found "among the transgressors." We have the full light of knowledge; we are duly warned; and we know that "to whom much is given, from them will much be required."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 30th, 1863.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent, "Twenty years in America," thinks that the *sole* duty of Englishmen with respect to this question, consists in loyal obedience to the Queen's proclamation," and that "the chief duty which the nation has in this contest is to prevent such a settlement as shall increase the influence of the slave States, to check the slave trade, protect our possessions in the West Indies, and diminish the expenses of our West India fleet.

He adopts a very low standard of morality. It is not the standard adopted by the nation in sending its missionaries abroad, nor that which had been observed with respect to the slave question up to the period of this rebellion; nor will it be thought by most persons worthy of a man, of a Christian, or of any people.

Heretofore the people of England have not deemed it their duty to remain passive, or to repress their sympathies in the cause of the abolition of slavery. Since England emancipated its slaves, a period of about thirty years, its press has not ceased to wage war against the freemen of America for their complicity with slavery. The periodicals have abounded with the bitterest articles which the pen could supply. Citizens of States which had abolished slavery fifty years before the English Emancipation Act, thereby setting an example which England tardily followed, had been constantly subject to the taunts of the *Times* and other prints, to the reproaches and sarcasms of the people at large, and to the untruthful lampoons of *Punch*, for not getting rid of slavery in the other States with which they were connected, and for not abolishing it in States which these same prints and persons, with characteristic inconsistency, now hold to have been "sovereign and independent"

from the first. Again, some few years since, "five hundred thousand English women, from the duchess standing before the throne, downwards, signed an address to the women of America, urging them to exert their influence to effect the emancipation of the slave. This address was respectfully received and taken in good part, although many of the women so addressed, had been staunch abolitionists before vast numbers of the signers were born, and had for years prior to the English Emancipation Act, promulgated and disseminated the doctrines which led to that Act. These facts clearly show that England *had not*, prior to this pro-slavery rebellion, considered it a duty to remain passive, to abstain from sympathising with the slaves of America in the wrongs endured, nor in using its influence to effect total abolition.

A question of vital consequence to all is now before the world. Perhaps none of so great importance to the welfare of man, to the advancement of civilisation, and the diffusion of Christianity, has ever before presented itself; and are we to be told that England is not to sympathise with the adversaries of slavery; that it is to stand by and see the slaveowners throttle their opponents and establish a slave empire; *as the upholders of this doctrine say they certainly will!* Is the whole glory of settling this question to be left to the Americans? Is the abused Yankee to effect this great work; and not only so, but in despite of sympathy and material aid rendered to the slave power by Europe?" And are the women of America, one of these days, to say to the half million of English women who signed the address: "In our difficulty and distress, while we were giving up our fathers, our brothers, our husbands, and sons to the great cause which you yourselves advocated and urged, *you turned recreant to your principles, and not only denied us your sympathies and encouragement, but, to say the least, countenanced during the death struggle, assistance to the slave power?*" Unless there be a great and immediate change, this rebuke will form a portion of history.

I denounce the doctrine which teaches that the sympathies

of Englishmen should not be enlisted in the cause of those who are practically fighting to eradicate slavery, as mean, contemptible, and satanic; and I hold in utter scorn those who, knowing the facts, attempt to advocate that doctrine. It is the plain unquestionable duty of every Englishman, of every one who would maintain the honour of his country, of every one true to the great principles, the observance of which has made a great kingdom of a small island, to give his sympathies to those who are devoting their fortunes and lives to a cause that England for a long period has held sacred. I challenge any one to show to the contrary, or to show that any one who now opposes the efforts making to put down the institution of slavery, this "Satan's worst work on earth," will not be, after the conflict is over, "a monument of disgrace for the finger of scorn to point at."

Twenty years' residence in America has been enough to imbue your correspondent with a feeling of toleration of the vices of an infernal system. Many of the best citizens there were affected in the same way. The pioneers in the cause of abolition were opposed by them, and probably by him; but thank God, the seed was sown in good ground, and that which at one time was a tender herb, has become a "mighty tree," and overshadows the whole land. This slave rebellion has given these noble persons and their proselytes the opportunity of endeavouring to enforce their doctrines without infringing upon the constitution, and they are using the opportunity to purge the land of its great blot and greatest curse. If ever the designs of Providence could be divined by mortal man, it may now be seen that the struggle going on in America was permitted for the purpose, and is to eventuate in the relief of the African from bondage and the abolition of slavery throughout the earth.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 13th, 1863.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE CONFEDERACY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—ALTHOUGH the prompt rejection of Mr. Conway's proposal disposes of it, the illegality of the action and the mischief that might have accrued, had Mr. Mason dared to have played the hypocritical part by pretending to take it into consideration, renders it necessary not to permit the movement to pass unrebuked.

The first thing which must strike every one is the extreme indiscretion of both parties. No children could have acted more foolishly. It is to be presumed that Mr. Conway, so far as he himself was concerned, acted in good faith, and not simply for the purpose of entrapping Mr. Mason into the rejection of what the English public might consider a reasonable proposition, and so obtaining credit for the Union; and there can hardly be a doubt that Mr. Mason would have avoided the stigma of rejecting the proposition, but for the disgrace he would have fallen into with those whom he affects to represent. Those who boldly declare that they have adopted as the foundation and corner-stone of their confederacy, "Slavery," "Subordination," and "Government," in the place of "Liberty," "Equality," and "Fraternity," and have called God to witness that they will uphold these characteristics of government, and if possible procure their adoption by all nations, can hardly, on the very threshold of their existence, repudiate their own intentions, give up the very vitality of their being, and uproot its foundation. Possibly Mr. Mason might have countenanced the proposition for the purpose of gaining time, had the rebels been more careful in manifesting their intentions; but audacity has been, still is, and always will be, the soul of their rebellion, and prudence was out of the question.

What we have to deal with, however, is the action of Mr. Conway. I have as good, and indeed a better right than he, to speak on behalf of the honour of abolitionists, and I denounce his movement *in toto*. I cannot believe that Mr. Conway is deputed by any respectable number of abolitionists, to negotiate with rebels, and to propose to conspire to thwart the views of his Government. He has clearly subjected himself to the penalty of treason, under an especial and undisputed clause of the constitution, and all who are in complicity with him are guilty of subornation of treason. Were it not so, there would be an end to all government. He proposes, on certain conditions, to oppose his government in its attempt to put down the rebellion. In his opinion the object is a virtuous one ; but that does not affect the crime. One may think it justifiable to commit murder, but that will not sanction the act in the eye of the law, nor commend it to the community. Mr. Conway might, so far as his duty to his Government is concerned, have offered to oppose the Government for a bribe in money. Now, I tell Mr. Conway, and any and all who may be acting with him, if any there be, that we will have no plotting in Great Britain, by any calling themselves loyal Americans, against the American Government. They may give up that game at once, as pursuance in that course will end in their utter destruction. Regardless of every duty but that of abolishing slavery, which is unquestionably an object of surpassing and vital importance, he would sacrifice everything else that his countrymen hold most dear.

1st. He would abandon the primary duty of every citizen, to uphold his Government in all loyal steps to maintain the supremacy of the land, and put down the rebellion.

2nd. While England would go to war to recover one of its citizens from arbitrary arrest, he would in defiance of the undertaking in the Constitution, and the oath of the Executive, and the unquestionable obligation of every loyal citizen, abandon the hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of loyal citizens in the South, to the arbitrary government and the vengeance of an oligarchical military despotism ;

and, moreover, although he would contract for the abolition of the name of slavery, it would be but changing the name, for no one can reasonably doubt that under such a Government, and with the feelings avowed by the dominant class, the condition of the blacks would be very little if at all amended.

3rd. He would abandon Florida, Louisiana, and that vast territory stretching to the west, which was purchased by the American people, in order to prevent the establishment of a foreign power upon their border. He would give up the Mississippi and its tributaries, and the commerce and command of the Gulf of Mexico, and would submit to the establishment of a military oligarchical despotism within the bosom of his country, subjecting it to perpetual wars, and rendering it necessary at all times to keep up large armies and navies, and encouraging the wars of Europe to be waged upon its soil.

And all these things, and more other ills than can be recounted, Mr. Conway would submit to, merely for the purpose of seeing slavery abolished in name; for he must be insane who would expect anything else under the circumstances. Now, if these are Mr. Conway's ideas of patriotism, he has not begun to entertain the first idea of a patriot. The Government of the United States is engaged in putting down rebellion. Every citizen should support it in that object to the death. It will restore the integrity of the Union; it will maintain its form of government one and indivisible; it will abolish slavery not only in name, but in fact, compensating all loyal slaveholders; it will restore peace and prosperity to the nation; it will encourage the black labourers; it will send in free labourers from the North; labour will rush in from Germany and Ireland; and in ten years from the settlement of the question, the South will offer to the markets of the world *a largely increased supply of cotton*. This is what is to be accomplished, and what will be accomplished. We are going to have no sham compromises with rebels. They have thrown down the gauntlet in the most defiant manner, and for the worst pur-

poses. It has been taken up, and the conflict must result in Slavery or Freedom.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 19th, 1863.

NOTE.—Mr. Conway was undoubtedly an earnest and able Unionist, but any intermeddling of the kind appeared to me especially mischievous, and not knowing who its promoters might be, nor what ramifications their plan might have, I denounced it on the instant; I believe nothing more was heard of it.

THIS "Reply to Mr. Roebuck," was printed in a pamphlet form, and besides general circulation, was put into the hands of two hundred prominent members of Parliament, a few days prior to that on which his motion for the recognition of the rebels was to come on in Parliament.

REPLY TO MR. ROEBUCK'S SPEECH AT SHEFFIELD.

MR. ROEBUCK goes to Sheffield with the object of obtaining a vote of its people in favour of the acknowledgment, by the Government, of the independence of the American rebel States. A large number of persons assemble at an out-of-door meeting, and hear from him certain statements; and in the supposition that these statements are correct, a majority of them decide in favour of the proposition which he advocates. Now, if it can be shown that these statements so made by him are erroneous, and the more especially that

they are directly opposed to truth, the decision thus obtained becomes valueless and should have no influence upon Parliament in its vote on the motion which Mr. Roebuck proposes to bring forward. Mr. Roebuck stated that if his conclusions were erroneous, it arose "from the weakness of his own judgment;" and upon a review of his remarks it will probably be found necessary, in order to retain for him some degree of respect, to adopt the conclusion so considerably suggested. It should, however, be a lesson to his constituents not again to be deceived into a course that might possibly entail a lasting stigma upon their town.

Taking the report of the speech as found in the *Times*, Mr. Roebuck says, 1st.—"*The American colonies having raised themselves to three millions of people, determined to be free.*" This is altogether a misrepresentation. The American colonists were eminently loyal. Their ties to the mother country were numberless and their affections strong. They were sincerely opposed to breaking the connection; they took every means in their power to prevent it: but an arbitrary ministry, which in no wise represented the people of England, appeared determined on a rupture. Many obnoxious laws affecting the colonists were passed; taxes were levied upon them without their consent; their trade was interrupted; and other measures were adopted that would in effect, if submitted to, have reduced them to a state of vassalage. Claiming to be free-born Britons, they demanded to be treated as loyal subjects, and complained of the measures of the ministry as being opposed to the British Constitution and to the charters and acts of settlement which had been granted to them by the crown. They petitioned Parliament, they petitioned the king, they addressed the people of Great Britain, and sent agents to explain the injustice attempted to be practised upon them; but all to no purpose. Their entreaties had no effect. There were persons then, as there are now, to misrepresent everything done in America, to impute bad motives, and prejudice the public mind. The minister persevered, and finally sent General Gage with a fleet and army to Boston, with arbi-

trary power to coerce the people into submission. Even this did not occasion rebellion; it was not until the king's troops, wantonly and without provocation, fired upon the citizens of Concord, a town inland from Boston, that the people took up arms in their own defence; and the Declaration of Independence was not made until fifteen months after that event. The colonists were forcibly driven into rebellion. I have personally known hundreds of men who were actors in these early scenes, and I know this to be true; history also fully confirms it. Therefore, there was no pre-determination on the part of the colonists to rebel; they were literally driven into rebellion by the British Government. Being, however, forced into it, they acquiesced in the duty of opposing a great wrong, and sought what promised to be a great good, not only for themselves, but for the world at large, and even for the mother country. No one thing which they strove for could be said by the philanthropist or christian to be opposed to the general weal of man.

2nd. Mr. Roebuck says, "Having rebelled, the Americans established the great principle among mankind, that when a people are determined to throw off a yoke, whatever that yoke may be, if they have the power, they have the right to do so."

This declaration should be sufficient in itself to sanction Mr. Roebuck's misgivings with respect to *the soundness of his own judgment*, for one need have no further evidence of that weakness which he more than half suspected. No such principle *has ever been established by any one*, and so far as the proceedings of the American colonists determine the question, the very opposite was established. Their first declaration to the world, proclaimed in Congress assembled, was as follows, viz.:—"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal state which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind

requires that they should declare the causes which compel them to the separation, That when a long train of abuse and usurpation evinces a desire to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government." The manifesto then recapitulates *twenty-seven distinct grievances* under which the colonists were suffering, one of which was, "for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws and altering fundamentally the forms of our government;" another, "for suspending our legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatever;" another, "for declaring us out of protection and waging war upon us." It then adds, "we have reminded our British brethren of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and have adjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which would otherwise inevitably interrupt our connexion; but they too have turned a deaf ear; and we must acquiesce in the necessity which compels our separation." The cause of the colonists was so manifestly just, that it was upheld by many members in the House of Commons, in despite of the stubbornness of the crown and the imperiousness of an arbitrary ministry. Mr. Burke declared, "were I an American, as I am an Englishman, I would" (so long as the circumstances continued,) "never lay down my arms, never, never, never." Therefore the right to rebel was not established by the American revolution on the possession of power to do so successfully; but on the contrary, so far as it affects the question, the conduct of the colonists establishes the necessity for justifying rebellion to the world before it can ask for the sympathies of mankind.

3rd. Mr. Roebuck says, "France joined America; and we established another great principle that it is in the power of any neutral power to ally itself with one of the fighting body." This is pure nonsense. It is of course in the *power* of a neutral nation to take any part it pleases, but in so doing it *establishes no right*. England declared war against

France for joining America, thereby distinctly denying, in the most emphatic form, the *right* of France to do so. Mr. Roebuck says, "I am not talking wildly on this point, I appeal to history in this matter." Whether talking wildly or not, he was unquestionably talking most foolishly.

4th. Mr. Roebuck says, "after eighty years, the United States have separated. A large body of these States have declared they would make themselves independent. They are in exactly the position the American colonies were, in regard to England in 1777. The North was separated from the South, and the North began to act, and was from the commencement so cruel, they forgot charity, they forgot Christianity, they made themselves a spectacle to the world of cruelty, corruption, and horror." The extreme absurdity of these remarks would disentitle them to any notice, did not their author occupy a certain position in the public mind; but they are so utterly opposed to truth in every aspect in which they can be viewed, that it is difficult to find a mode of treating them seriously. The feelings and conduct of the colonists in 1775-76 have already been described; but, in addition, it may be stated that they were 3,000 miles from the mother country, and their country from its geographical position was intended by nature to form a distinct government and nation. To be separated from England would not raise up an antagonistic power on its borders, but offered a powerful friend and great commercial advantages; while, on the contrary, the rebel States form no distinct country; *they are dovetailed by nature into the loyal States*, showing no possible dividing line, and presenting a tortuous border of nearly 3,000 miles in connection with the loyal territory, and this line intersected in a thousand places by rivers permeating both sections; a condition of things fruitful, under distinct governments, of continual quarrels and wars, and involving prospectively the necessity of keeping up large armies and navies. Moreover, their rebellion was not against oppression, but for the purpose of sustaining and perpetuating a system of oppression abhorrent to humanity and poisonous in its action upon all who in any way

come in contact with it. The pro-slavery rebels had no grievance save the single one of the refusal of the free States to permit them, in opposition to the Constitution, *to extend slavery*. They were under a Government which they themselves declared to be "the best in the world." They had in all respects a full voice in the Government; they assisted in its formation, and have, during a period of eighty years, controlled it in all matters affecting their own local interests. Pretending to no grievance, save that already named; seeking for no redress in respect to any other; not asking to be allowed to go out of the Union; not proposing to adopt any of the modes provided by the Constitution for amending it; after plotting for thirty years, secretly and jesuistically, to subvert the Government and to establish on its ruins a slave empire; after conspiring, as is asserted, and believed by most persons, to assassinate the President elect, on his way to the capital; they, without notice or any warning, seized the Government arms, forts, ships, arsenals, custom houses, and moneys, wherever they could lay hands upon them, and *made open war upon a peaceable unoffending Government*, by attacking Fort Sumpter (defended by eighty soldiers), with numerous batteries manned by seven thousand men, and for no other reason than that its commander refused to strike his flag at their dictation. They raised an army for the purpose of taking possession of the capital and the national archives, fully intending to destroy and uproot the Government and to establish slavery in all the States. These acts of aggression and many others occurred before the Government had lifted a finger, and so forbearing and conciliating was its conduct, that the *Times* newspaper and other English journals, declared, "the North had no spirit, no patriotism, and did not care how it was ruled, nor by whom it was ruled, so long as it could go on making dollars." Therefore, there is no similarity whatever between the position of the Colonies in 1775, and that of the pro-slavery rebel States; but on the contrary, every reason that could be urged in favour of the action of the former, may be distinctly and forcibly urged against that of the latter, even

without taking into consideration its avowed object of "perpetuating slavery and making it a world-wide institution." As to the charge of cruelty and horrors practised by the North, it can be met in but one way, and that is, *by saying that it is altogether and totally false.*

5th. Mr. Roebuck says, "the South said, 'we will vindicate our right to govern ourselves; we will fight to the death for our independence,' and they have done so; they have conquered the North."

Now the rebels declared "they would fight to establish a slave empire; they would dispel the illusion under which mankind laboured in regarding slavery to be an evil; and would establish throughout the world the dogma, that it is just and right, indeed an institution ordained of God." They have declared that they will substitute "Slavery," "Subordination," and "Government," in the place of "Liberty," "Equality," and "Fraternity." They have declared that one portion of mankind was born to be enslaved, and another portion to be masters; the rule in respect to slavery extending to the white as well as to the black; in fact, this is a certain consequence; for many of their slaves are as white as themselves. These are the objects then for which they are fighting; Mr. Roebuck calls it "fighting for independence;" he omitted to say in connection with his own view of the case, that the slaveowners have induced the white labouring classes to fight for them, fully intending to establish an oligarchical despotism, and to deprive these labourers of the franchise, so soon as the rebellion shall have triumphed. Mr. Roebuck says the rebels "have succeeded in their object, they have conquered the North." He might have said with more truth, "they have conquered Great Britain," for they have conquered Mr. Roebuck, who considers himself an institution, while they have conquered nothing from the North. *Before the war* they had many friends there; now, they have but few, Vallandigham, &c.; all others despise their conduct and abhor its object. They have not gained one foot of territory during the whole war. Their armies have, it is true, in several instances, repulsed the attacks of the

Union soldiers, but in no case have they been able to follow up success and obtain an advantage by it ; once only have they invaded a free State ; they were then immediately beaten and driven back. The Union soldiers have, on the other hand, overcome them in numerous battles, and have captured from them many strong places and several large armies. They have rescued from their grasp the States of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Western Virginia ; and portions of Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas. They have taken possession of the Islands of South Carolina and some of the mainland, and of the fort which commands the chief seaport of Georgia. Their forces have nearly entire command of the great rivers of the west, thus cutting the slave territory in two, and to a great extent commanding Texas and Arkansas ; in fact, without reckoning these two latter States, slave territory, five times larger than England, has been wrested from the rebel power. The North has done infinitely more in two years than France and England did against Russia in the same period. Its fleets blockade the whole rebel coast, and its armies draw an iron cordon around those districts which the rebels still claim to hold ; so that, should Mr. Roebuck desire to visit his friends there, or they wish to send an envoy or a letter to him, the attempt must be made to run the gauntlet of the Union armies or navies and with little chance of success. Should Earl Russell ask Mr. Roebuck to define what country, or what portion of country, could be claimed as being in possession of the rebels, he would be at a loss to name a single State. The people, whom Mr. Roebuck says have conquered the North, are reduced, through their rebellion, from a state of high prosperity to that of great suffering, and in many instances to absolute want. Their trade is lost ; grass is growing in their streets ; their Government has no revenue worth naming, its paper notes are selling in their own towns at three dollars for one of the Northern Government money ; their people are represented as being in a state of extensive disaffection, many wishing to come back into the Union ; and their soldiers are reported to be anxious for peace. This is the position of the rebels ;

not much like that of a victorious people; while the North, in addition to the advantages of its military position, having to a considerable extent the rebels in its clutch, is everywhere prospering. The agriculturist is flourishing; the manufacturers are in most cases fully employed; commerce is still extensive, being interrupted only by the piratical vessels fitted out in England; emigrants are flocking to their shores by tens of thousands, 3,500 arrived at New York in one day, and for several weeks 1,000 daily; the exports from Great Britain to the North increased five millions sterling the last year, amounting in all to fifteen millions sterling; while the imports from thence, according to British official returns, amounted to twenty-six millions, besides ten millions of specie. This is a pretty specimen of a beaten country. This is the nation which Mr. Roebuck says is conquered. Therefore, in consideration of such reckless assertions, Mr. Roebuck's word is not to be taken upon anything appertaining to America, and it must be the "weakness of his judgment" which permits him to arrive at such conclusions. He has deceived his constituents once; if he ever does so again, it will be their fault.

6th. Mr. Roebuck says, "the time has now come when we should acknowledge the South as an independent nation." But, as already asked, what and whom would he acknowledge? and how will he get to his protégées to inform them of the fact? will he declare war with the North, in order to open the road; to assist in establishing a slave empire, and to show his admiration for fighting qualities?

7th. And now we come to Mr. Roebuck's strong point in his claim for the sympathies of Englishmen, in favour of the slaveowners. He says, "the black is treated at the North as I would not treat a dog. They have declared in their public documents, their determination, not merely to conquer the South, but to root out the slave, and not merely slavery, but the black. Mr. Lincoln declared all the slaves free in the seceded States, but maintained slavery where his power extended. My countrymen have hearts that bleed for slaves, and can England allow these horrible atrocities to go on? I

am met with the cry 'Slavery,' but what is slavery in the South as compared with the black man's condition in the North? We bought the slaves in the West Indies, but can we do that in America? The millions of slaves would swallow up all the North and South to buy their freedom. You cannot do it. *The connexion between the slaveowner and the slave is not so painful as you imagine! They are kindly treated. They like their condition to a certain extent.* I lament they are slaves, but what are we to do? Time, patience, and the *education of the black man*, will drag them out of their condition! I would fight against slavery, but the battle is not always to the strong, as we see between the North and the South."

What insufferable rubbish; what trash to come from the mouth of a member of Parliament! The statements are such a compound of folly and falsehood, it is difficult to treat them seriously. At the North the black is a human being, and not "a chattel." He enjoys full protection of the laws alike with the white, and full liberty of action in all respects. He marries, and is protected in every relation of life precisely as the white man is. He holds real property, and in several of the States enjoys the franchise and the privilege of voting for his rulers, which to a great extent is denied the English labourer, including vast numbers whom Mr. Roebuck was addressing. The ills which the black suffers, are mainly mental; they are of long standing; they did not originate with the present generation, but existed long before the revolution, and are rapidly dying out. It is a prejudice simply against colour; the whites entertain it more or less all over the world. This prejudice affects the blacks as follows:—they are not sought as companions; amalgamation is for the most part avoided. It has been the custom for them to sit apart in the churches; that custom came up under English rule, and is now ceasing. In some cases they are not permitted to ride in the public vehicles, a rule adopted by the proprietors for their own interest. They do not, *as a rule*, dine at the public tables, nor associate as companions with white persons. The evils are simply those

of *caste*, and are not much if any greater than are suffered by the Irish labourer here in England, or by the Manchester operative. Such as they are, *they will very soon be only known to history*, except that amalgamation, to any considerable extent, will never take place; that appears to be opposed to the designs of Providence, and cannot be regarded as desirable. Blacks now, almost universally, attend the same schools, receiving there the same attention as the whites; and such has been the good conduct and the heroism of the race whenever called upon during this war, and such has been their patience and forbearance under oppression, that the people are everywhere beginning to regard them with admiration, instead of repugnance.

Now, in the South the slave is simply a chattel; he has no rights, no standing; he has no social position. The woman he calls his wife may be taken from him and be compelled to associate with another, or she may be stripped and beaten nearly to death. His children may be torn from him and sold into distant lands. Offences which in a white man are subject to slight punishment, are death to the slave. In one State, while but three out of sixty-five offences subject the white to capital punishment, fifty-six of the same offences committed by the black are punished with death! Mr. Roebuck thinks slavery "not so bad after all," that no decided steps should be taken to eradicate it, but that "time and education must be relied upon!" Education! Why Mr. Roebuck knows that the slave is not allowed to look into a book, and that attempting to teach a slave to read, has in many instances been punished with death! What a mockery of his hearers! trust to education, trust to time! an eternity would not effect emancipation under Mr. Roebuck's views. That the Americans have expressed by word or deed "an intention to root out the blacks," is absolutely false; they have done nothing which can in any respect warrant such an assertion. They are everywhere inventing modes by which the slaves can be taught and employed, and brought into such a state of enlightenment as will make them valuable citizens. The heart of the nation beats for

the accomplishment of this most philanthropic object, and it will presently be accomplished. The Congress granted money to assist the blacks in emigrating, as England has to assist the whites, only more liberally; but in no case was this emigration intended to be compulsory; assistance was to be granted to those only who desired to emigrate. Mr. Lincoln proclaimed the slaves free in rebel States where alone he had the legal right to do so; he had no legal right, and consequently no power, to declare them free in States not in rebellion; therefore Mr. Roebuck's declaration in that respect was a misrepresentation; he knew it to be so. Mr. Lincoln offered remuneration to the rebel States for their slaves, and also to the loyal States; the nation stood ready to sustain him in the offer, and could easily have provided for the payment, notwithstanding Mr. Roebuck's opinion that England could not meet so great a demand.

8th. Mr. Roebuck talks of the "*horrible atrocities of the North*," and instances as an example, that in one place where a northern army came, a family was turned out of a house, the house burned, and the wife's clothes given to the wife of a Union officer! This is instanced by him as a sample of northern atrocity! It would have been deemed but a small matter in the march of an army amongst the Sepoys, or in the Peninsula; but is in fact a *sample* of the worst acts of the northern armies. Mr. Roebuck did not mention that the occupiers of the house had given information to the rebel soldiers and had shot down Union troops. Probably no other war within a century has been conducted with so much lenity as this, upon the part of the North. Lenity has been the great fault of the Government; for a long period it failed to realise that it was at war, and rebels and domestic traitors took advantage of this course of action. Forbearance has been carried so far that the Government has been continuously taunted with pusillanimity; and the rebels and others have misjudged this magnanimity in the same way that the Chinese do forbearance. The cruelties of the war have been almost entirely upon the other side, and have been extensively practised by the rebels upon those whom

they have called their own subjects. Claiming the right to secede, the right to adopt their own course, they have denied it to others. Not only have individuals in the rebel States been hanged or shot, or driven from their homes, for loyalty to the general Government, but States which were averse to seceding, have been invaded and laid waste, their people robbed, and in many instances murdered, while in others they have been the victims of a pitiless guerilla warfare. All the fighting that has occurred in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Western Virginia, has been occasioned by the invasion of those States by the rebels, to force them out of the Union against their wish. If Mr. Roebuck wishes some account of these cruelties, let him read "Parson Brownlow's" book.

9th. Mr. Roebuck says, "there is no person, no body of men, who so much desire England's interference in the war as the Northern States themselves." Really one feels inclined to ask if he made the speech at Sheffield simply for the purpose of imposing on his hearers? So far from the North desiring interference, it would declare war against England to-morrow, should it interfere; while at the same time it would regard such war with England as about the greatest calamity that could befall the nation.

10th. Mr. Roebuck says, "England would not help slavery by acknowledging the South. By doing anything to assist the North we may do away with slavery, but should do away with the slave. I think my sympathies ought to go with the South. They are a gallant people fighting for their independence, and they have obtained it. The North does not hope to conquer the South; but I will tell you what they hope for; there is a body of men in New York thriving upon the war, making money by contracts, who wish the war to continue; but if you go into the agricultural districts you will find sorrow for the war, husbands and brothers dragged to the war, killed, or wounded and made miserable for life; these wish to put an end to the war." That England would not help slavery by assisting to establish a slave empire, which would become twenty times larger than England, to

be ruled over by a people, according to their own declaration, "determined to establish slavery in the place of liberty," is what few persons can believe. If by "assisting the North we may do away with slavery," had not Mr. Roebuck better recommend that course and be satisfied with a good action, trusting the result to Providence? Let him, to begin with, give freedom to four millions of slaves, and he will find "doing away with them" not so easy a task; but that giving to them profitable employment, however, may be readily accomplished.* In the event of the establishment of a slave empire, sixty millions of human beings will bear the yoke of slavery within a period of less than a century, and the progeny of thirty millions will be consigned to slavery thenceforward for countless generations; and not only so, but its demoralising effect will be felt throughout the world. Its poisonous influence has extended even now to Great Britain; Mr. Roebuck himself is a living witness of it; his "sympathies go with the slaveowner;" he "does not think slavery so painful a matter as is imagined;" in fact he is evidently almost in favour of continuing the institution; regarding it simply as a matter of sentiment. Mr. Roebuck thinks the rebels "deserve independence because they fight gallantly." The same reason might be urged in favour of the pirate, the brigand and housebreaker, or in favour of any one who should fight his way, however illegally. He says, "the war is supported mainly by contractors and not by the country people, whose husbands and brothers have been dragged into it." Now nothing could be further from the truth. The country people have been almost unanimous in support of the war. One of the most prominent and encouraging features in the contest has been the earnestness and almost entire unanimity of the agricultural classes, forming, as they do, the backbone and sinew of the nation, in the support of the war. There has hardly been with

* President Grant, in his message to Congress, December, 1860, says: The freedmen under the protection which they have received are making rapid progress in learning, and no complaints are heard of lack of industry on their part when they receive fair remuneration for their labour.

them two opinions on the subject, except in some of the States bordering on the slave States. Although husbands, brothers, and sons have been killed or maimed, the Government has been supported with a willingness and devotion and with evidences of patriotism never excelled by Romans in the most palmy days of Rome's history. The persons over whom Mr. Roebuck would make a lamentation, have been volunteers, almost to a man, not dragged into the war; not one in ten of the soldiers have been draughted. Young women, also, of the first families and with independent fortunes, have travelled hundreds and even thousands of miles, braving every danger and risking every hardship, to administer to the wants of the wounded and dying. It is a slander to say that the war is supported from selfish motives; it is supremely foolish to imagine that a few contractors rule the nation; and a deadly wrong to the highest and noblest feelings, to feelings which pervade the whole loyal community. All classes desire to see the war terminated, but few wish it until slavery is destroyed and the Union established.

11th. Mr. Roebuck says "the Irish have emigrated to America because they have been ill-treated by England." Even if that has been a cause, he tells but half the story. He should have added, "and because they have been well treated in America, enjoying liberty with full employment and good pay." They have remitted ten millions of pounds sterling to their suffering relatives at home, within the last twenty years, and are still remitting and urging them to emigrate. This is the cause of emigration, and not Federal enlistment. America claims no further credit for this treatment of the Irish, than that, by wise example and by elevating institutions, it has made prosperous and valuable citizens of vast numbers who were in a miserable state of ignorance and poverty.

Mr. Roebuck says that he is "the faithful representative of Sheffield, and *not the gentlemen's representative*." If his constituents are pleased with him, so be it; but unquestionably "the gentlemen" have cause to be grateful for the declaration with respect to them. He says, "how any one can be taken

by surprise on the American question, passes comprehension;" and yet, judging from his speech, he is himself in Egyptian darkness. Profound ignorance, or an almost inconceivable recklessness of truth, pervades nearly every sentence of it. He "believes the time has come for England to acknowledge the independence of the South; that by so doing it will be carrying out the great mission it has, to advance and protect mankind and benefit the world;" and he advises his hearers to declare their opinion, that "the Confederate States of America should at once be acknowledged an independent nation." This is his opinion, and upon the strength of his assertions, he obtained a vote from the meeting in its favour. He will not, however, carry the people of England with him, because a majority of them know his views to be false, and his opinion to be valueless. He will not carry the Parliament with him for the same reason; nor will any respectable number, even of the extreme opponents of republican institutions, support his proposition, because, however much they may dislike the Americans, they will not sully the fame and honour of England, to gratify dislikes or resentments. Although Parliament contains a number of persons who are ready to become advocates for any promising client, it also contains a vast majority of a class which Mr. Roebuck declares he does not represent, viz., "gentlemen;" and when the vote comes to be taken on the motion which he proposes to bring forward, if ever it should be taken, they will administer to him a withering rebuke, and thus set the seal of their indignation upon sentiments and doctrines foisted by him with inconceivable audacity, upon his unsuspecting and confiding constituents.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 22nd, 1863.

NOTE.—Mr. Roebuck's motion was brought on, June 30th, in the House of Commons, and the debate was adjourned to July 6th. Other business then prevented its being renewed, and eventually Lord Palmerston begged Mr. Roebuck to withdraw it, and he did so.

MR. HOLLAND ON SOUTHERN RECOGNITION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—MR. Holland, who wrote in your paper last week, thinks “there is not a people under heaven that would now exchange with the Americans.” If this be true, it simply shows that prejudice is stronger than reason, for Mr. Holland includes the subjects of the King of Dahomey, and brings nothing to indicate that any other people have any better reasons for their preference than they. For the same reason, on this showing, it proves nothing when it is said that there is not a Union man, woman, or child, in all America, that would at the present time exchange nationality with the most favoured people, besides, in the world. Against Mr. Holland’s unsupported evidence, however, two thousand of his countrymen weekly, raise their voices in the most practical way, by leaving, not a kingdom of Dahomey, but what he would call the most favoured land, for the United States of America! Had he not better intercept them upon our happy shores, and urge his reasons for their not going? With his views, is he not called upon to do so? In any case, until he succeeds in stopping them, the evidence will stand as 2,000 to 1, weekly, against the truth of his assertion.

He says, “every one but John Bright, can see that a nation demands something more than the machinery of a Republic.” This sneer at Mr. Bright is as contemptible as it is with respect to the Americans. Is it because Mr. Bright can act upon principle, and because he can discern where it exists and where it is lacking in others, that he is subject to so unworthy a sneer?

Mr. Holland thinks he has made a discovery in finding that a Mr. Dixon predicted seven years ago that slavery,

unless eradicated, would eventually break up the American Union. He appears altogether ignorant of the fact that hundreds of thousands in America have held that doctrine for more than eighty years, and for the especial reason, that it was opposed to Republican institutions.

The "American Constitution" requires "no strengthening" to prevent secession. The rebels do not believe in secession; it is only the silly sympathisers abroad who are hoodwinked by the weak device. The Constitution would meet their views and would be on a par with their arguments, had it contained this clause: "and it is hereby further declared that this agreement may be broken, whenever any one or more of the parties to it may please." Were it possible that the right of secession belonged to the original States, it cannot belong to people who have been allowed to settle upon the national domains, upon territories purchased by the nation, for the safety and benefit of the nation, and who have been permitted to come into the Union as a great favour. The occupiers of these territories have but a life interest in the soil, and have no more right to set up for themselves and take it out of the Union, than the owner of an estate in England has to place it under the rule of France.

It is not true that the anxiety of the North to get rid of slavery, is a "new found" idea. In asserting it, Mr. Holland does but exhibit his own ignorance. It has existed in an intense degree, ever since the revolution. The anxiety exhibited itself *practically*, in the abolition of slavery in all the States of the North, thirty years on an average, before England abolished it! Having now, at the present time, an opportunity of ridding the whole nation of it, which never occurred before, the anxiety not to allow the opportunity to pass is becoming universal. But if the whole people had erred, and have now repented, there is so much more cause for rejoicing! Instead, however, of killing the fatted calf, Mr. Holland would spurn them. It is worse than folly to repeat this parrot saying, that "the North has not been opposed to slavery."

It is not true to say "the North fights for the lust of am-

bition, the pride of power." This silly assertion has been so often refuted, it were a waste of words to repeat the evidence. Suffice it to say that in addition to the best motives that ever stimulated Englishmen to fight in defence of their own soil, the North is fighting for the noblest work ever given to man to accomplish.

It is pure nonsense to talk of "the North having recognised the South with its slavery;" slavery had been established throughout the land under the Government of Great Britain, and it is worse than folly to deride the abolitionists of the period of the revolution, for not insisting upon its being then abolished. All the philanthropy and power of Great Britain, combined with the growing intelligence of the age, was not able to abolish slavery even in the West India Islands, until fifty years after that period. If Mr. Holland, instead of maligning a virtuous people, striving under difficulties, will refer to his Bible, he will find something about "seeing a mote in a neighbour's eye, while a beam is in his own eye."

Mr. Holland and his class could not complain should the "North recognise slavery in the slave States to-morrow, on their coming back into the Union." He and they lend their feeble aid to damage the North and assist the slaveholder, but an overruling Providence will frustrate their weak devices and hold them up to scorn.

Mr. Holland "yields to none in opposition to slavery, but will not accept the Northern method of doing it." Now, any other way can hardly be seen by the most ingenious, even in the far distant future, and yet because it does not square with his prejudices, Mr. Holland would discard it.

Mr. Holland says the Northern proclamation said to the slaves, "Rise against your masters by fire and sword; murder and assassinate." I say in reply to this, and as distinctly and emphatically as it can be conveyed in words, that it is a base falsehood, void of any vestige of truth. The proclamation has had the very opposite effect. It has kept the slaves quiet. They will not risk their lives in an outbreak, while they have the promise of freedom by the Govern-

ment. This result appeared certain, and experience has confirmed it. It is not known that one single act of aggression has been committed by a slave since the proclamation, and with this fact staring him in the face, how can Mr. Holland make such an unscrupulous, shameless assertion.

Mr. Holland asks, "would it not be better to purchase the freedom of the slave?" Can he be ignorant of the fact that the President has offered to do it, and that the country has approved the offer?

Mr. Holland says, "the rebels will fight to the death." The leaders will no doubt fight as long as they can; but they can fight no longer. Their deceived followers are rapidly deserting them, and will soon do so *en masse*, and if any of the leaders should survive, it will be to receive the curses of their dupes.

It ought not to be a matter of surprise "that English religionists go with the North," but should be a surpassing wonder that any religionist, besides those steeped in the poison of slavery, should in any way aid so infernal a purpose as that for which the pro-slavery oligarchs are fighting.

Mr. Holland's description of the treatment of the black at the North is peurile and inaccurate. The black is a "man" at the North, a "chattel" at the South. Let him read my reply to Mr. Roebuck on that head. The gratitude of the world is due to the North for the exertions it is making to rid the world of the curse of slavery.

Nothing but the most profound ignorance can permit any one to say that "the North has got the worst in the war." The South has gained nothing. The North has gained territory five times larger than England, and everywhere holds rebellion in an iron grasp. Space will not permit of particulars here. See my "Reply to Mr. Roebuck," published by E. C. Osborne, Bennett's Hill.

All the "horrors" of which Mr. Holland speaks are the fruits of the rebellion. They have been borne submissively by the Union party in consideration of the glorious results that are to follow.

Mr. Holland thinks "it would be to the interest of the North to permit the South to establish a slave empire," and that "England would enter into diplomatic relations with it." Mr. Holland and his fellow pro-slavery sympathisers accuse the North of having tolerated slavery, because it was for its interest so to do when it had no power to otherwise deal with it; but now, while the opportunity to get rid of it exists, Mr. Holland advises the North, for "its interest," to "acknowledge the slave empire!" The North thinks it for its interest and for the interests of humanity and the world at large, to destroy slavery, and it means to do so, and reject such inconsistent and hypocritical advice.

Mr. Holland thinks the establishment of a slave empire the "surest way to eradicate slavery." It is nearly impossible to conceive the aberration of mind that can entertain such an idea. To suppose that a people who have risked everything for the sake of establishing slavery; who have declared it to be "the corner stone of their Government; and that they will establish slavery in the place of liberty, and compel the world to acknowledge it to be an institution ordained of God," will eradicate it, is nothing short of idiotic. But whoever else may accept this belief, or may affect to accept it, nothing but compulsion will ever induce the Northern freemen to accept it. They can see nothing in the theory but unqualified hypocrisy.

It is a slander to say that "slavery is so dovetailed into the North that no one can tell where it begins nor where it ends." Were it so, what is all the fighting for? There would have been no rebellion had the North consented to slavery being carried into the territories. That is universally admitted. One word to that effect would have prevented the war, and yet while the freemen of the North are sacrificing their lives by the hundreds of thousands, and their property by thousands of millions, they are to be told "there is no dividing line between them and slavery." There is vastly more pro-slavery sentiment in England at the present time, than there is in the free States of North America.

Were the slave empire once established, it would, as certainly as that the earth revolves, embrace, before a long period, the whole Southern portion of North America, and slavery would be continued for ages. This the loyal people of the North, assisted presently, by many of the oppressed of the South, both white and black, intend to prevent; and with the blessing of Providence, they will prevent it, in despite of the utmost efforts of all the pro-slavery sympathisers of Europe, whom they denounce and defy.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 29th, 1863.

AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF ARIS'S GAZETTE.

SIR,—I AM most anxious to give your correspondent “Twenty Years in America,” some information with respect to America, but am unable to discover in his communication in your paper of to-day any point to which to direct my attention. The slave-holding rebels have declared that “America is cursed by its freeisms;” but that “of all its curses, that of *free schools* is the greatest.” Now, as there may yet be in New Orleans some persons who entertain these rebel sentiments, perhaps your correspondent regards the exercise of the *Yankee propensity to establish “libraries”* as a tyrannous disregard of their sensibilities, and deems an effort at improvement, however unimportant, an outrage upon their cherished relics of barbarism.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 23rd, 1863.

PUNCH AND THE SOUTH.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—I BELIEVE it is generally admitted that picture illustrations ridiculing or reflecting upon individuals or communities, are to be tolerated, only when they convey truth, and inculcate useful morals. For a period, the cartoons of *Punch* bore this character; hence its former popularity. Recently, however, it has deviated from this rule, and especially so in its illustrations of American subjects; its partisanship with the pro-slavery rebels having induced it to pervert facts in order to render them subservient to its own wishes and sympathies. This is evinced in a most striking manner in nearly every one of these illustrations. In its last number, an attempt is made to discredit and ridicule the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and to hold it up to derision, by representing the scandalous abuse of the blacks by a rowdy mob, in New York, to be an exhibition of the true feeling entertained towards them, and to show that the pretended sympathy in their favour is hypocritical.

This cartoon ignores the fact that the North could at any time have had peace and union by giving up the negro to the tender mercies of the slaveholders; it ignores the fact that these riots were got up in the interest of the slaveholders, by traitors in the North, acting in concert with them and attempting to promote their views in the establishment of a slave empire; it ignores the fact that the whole moral and physical Union force was opposed to the mob, engaged in putting it down, and in protecting the negroes; it ignores the fact that above 27,000 dollars were subscribed by the citizens in a few minutes, for the relief of the suffering blacks; and that more than twenty of the leading lawyers of New York had placed their gratuitous services at the command of the negroes, to enable them to pursue their claims against the city for redress. Moreover, it ignores the fact, too noto-

rious to be overlooked, that most of the rioters, especially those who abused the negroes, were low foreigners. Of thirty-two of the killed, brought to one station, twenty-four were Irish, four Germans, and one Dane, while but three were Americans.

To increase the degradation entailed upon it by its own cartoon, *Punch* takes for its text a quotation from "Manhattan," giving an account of the hanging of a negro by the mob. Now, in the *New York Tribune*, just received, there is a police report of three persons brought to the office accused of being concerned in this identical transaction. One of them, John Silver, was an Englishman; another, Dennis Carey, was an Irishman; while the third, Owen M'Kinney, was "born" in the United States. It was sworn that Silver lifted the negro up, while others adjusted a rope around his neck, and that Carey, who confessed he had a hand in the transaction, beat the negro while prostrate and helpless; but no evidence was given to implicate M'Kinney in the proceeding.

It would no doubt be uncharitable to suppose that Silver in this transaction represented English sentiment; but it would be more reasonable to do so than it was to regard the mob as the exponent of Northern sentiment, inasmuch as there was no evidence to the contrary with respect to Silver, while with respect to the Northern sentiment there was evidence to the contrary in its opposition to the rioters, putting them down by physical force, protecting the negroes for the time being, and afterwards making restitution to them so far as in its power.

Punch, professing to hate slavery, does all in its power to assist the friends of slavery, and to injure those who are endeavouring to abolish it, and thoughtless people laugh at and applaud its jokes.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 11th, 1863.

Punch has since made the most abject acknowledgment of the wrongfulness of its course with respect to the Union cause and President Lincoln.

THE REV. MR. ROE ON AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—It is not denied that “the Rev. Mr. Roe is qualified to tell our townsmen much that they wish to hear.” That he has “the natural gifts requisite to an interesting lecturer,” and the “adventitious advantage of long experience in America,” that he is “brimful of information for which we are all athirst,” that he “is not like the prejudiced Yankee, quoting only such Southern articles as suit his purpose,” but “a witness fresh from the war, whose English origin would seem to guarantee impartiality, and whose sacred office give promise of a fair and temperate recital.” But those who went to hear him “must have been grievously disappointed.” “’Tis true they heard him with great patience, but that, simply manifested their gentle breeding.” He “proved to be a thorough and enthusiastic advocate of the North.” His “experience, impartiality, and piety,” did not teach him to say those things which in our judgment he should have said; things which we had anticipated and desired. We expected he would have cursed the Yankees, whereas he blessed them altogether.

His “great mistake consisted in the fallacious notion that the North is fighting for the abolition of slavery.” The Southerners had told him so, the Northerners had told him so, and from all he had seen he believed it to be a fact, for his impartiality and piety induced him to accept their unanimous opinion as correct, and to adopt it as his own; but this simply shows how greatly piety, impartiality, and experience may err. We, who are not so egotistic as to claim credit for piety, impartiality, or experience, but who derive our inspiration from that source of immaculate purity, the *Times*, know better. We know that “slavery has nothing to do with it;” that both the North and the South are

labouring under a great mistake, and that besides spilling much worthless blood, are running up a debt which we much fear will never be paid, especially the cotton loan. We know the North is simply fighting for power; a sin which no true Englishman can overlook, for since our Saxon ancestors were invited to this island, it is well known that our race has remained in peace with all the world, and has never sought power nor territory any where; and that we would even now, part with Ireland and Scotland and resolve ourselves into the old heptarchy, should any one desire it. But whether so or not, we "wish to avoid all partnership in this miserable quarrel," and cannot endure to hear one who has had great opportunities of knowing and who might be deemed strictly impartial, declare the glorious chivalry of the South to be altogether in the wrong, and the plebeian round-heads of the North, who are little better than psalm-singing hypocrites, to be altogether in the right. We should not have been so particular, had Mr. Roe cursed these psalm-singers a little, even a little. Instead of that, he declared, speaking in prophetic vision from the mountain top of the glorious Alleghanies, said by geologists to be the first land which arose from the deep, when the waters were divided from the waters, and the dry land appeared: "Behold, I see the freemen of America dwelling in palaces throughout the whole land; a great and mighty people, of one language, one rule, and one flag, in universal peace and brotherhood; the black and the white, each under his own vine and fig tree, having none to molest nor make him afraid." At this point, the enthusiasm of the rev. gentleman induced us to call out, "Sir, much learning doth make thee mad!" to which he merely replied, "I am not mad, but speak the words of truth and soberness;" clear evidence of his infatuation. This illustration of the delusion of the speaker may be useful in guarding those who wish us to think for them, against an attempt to seek elsewhere for information.

Mr. Roe emphatically denied the truth of the statement made by the "innocent lambs" of the South; the lambs that have recently declared "slavery" to be "one of the

attributes of Divinity," that "the war had been forced upon them." He even charged them with making war on the North, in proof of which he brought documents to show that they had been plotting treason for more than thirty years; that they had stolen from the Government arsenals, guns, gunpowder, and cannon; that they had wrested the forts from the hands of Government soldiers; fired upon peaceable ships; battered Fort Sumpter; and threatened to capture Washington; and force the Yankees to hoist the slave flag on that "monument of their independence," Bunker Hill; and all this before the Government of the nation had raised a finger against them. He omitted to state that they invaded border States which wished to remain in the Union, in order to compel them to rebel, and that they had hanged numerous loyal citizens who would not join the rebellion; but all this, we know, was "no cause for the North fighting them." "If France should invade England, the preparation of our Rifle Corps would be a just cause for the invasion." If a number of the numerous "innocent lambs" of London, should band themselves together and plot treason, should steal the guns at Birmingham, the cannon of Woolwich, batter the Tower, and finally threaten to dethrone the Queen, that would not justify the Duke of Cambridge in ordering out the troops to coerce those "innocent lambs;" Oh, no! They would merely want to "be let alone," to be allowed to do as they pleased. It would be an infringement of their rights for the Duke to oppose them.

Now, Mr. Roe could not see it; but such doctrines as he preached will not do for Birmingham of the present day. Possibly they might have done in the old time, before we were born; when Birmingham, by "peace, law, and order," carried the Reform Bill; but since then there has been a great change. We have got rid of the old Toryism, and have established a true Conservatism; a Conservatism which applauds treason, upholds rebellion, and fraternises with slaveholders. We hold that attacks by us upon the Queen's troops, that our taking possession of a few of the Queen's fleets, would not justify any attempt to deprive us of our pre-

scriptive right "to do as we please;" we will decidedly consider any such action, should it occur, to be "making war upon us." "Mr. Roe's doctrines may do for America, but will not do here; nothing will do here but the 'true liberty' of doing as we please. We ask the Americans to adopt our plan, but 'such partisanship as that of Mr. Roe, we cannot tolerate.'" We have advised Mr. Roe not to lecture again, but on second thought, we are willing to try him once more; peradventure, he may yet take up his manuscript, and curse us, the Yankees.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 15th, 1863.

NOTE.—The quotations, and the views imputed in the above letter, are copied, or fairly deduced, from the articles on Mr. Roe, and his lecture, in the pro-rebel papers, prior to and after the lecture.

THE following circular was issued, at this period, by the Manchester Association for assisting the rebels, and is inserted here to show the arguments used and the opinions held by pro-slavery abettors, many of whom had much influence, but very little knowledge of the subject on which they undertook to dogmatise.

AN ANGLO-SOUTHERN MANIFESTO.

"Central Association for the Recognition of
the Confederate States, 26, Market Street,
Manchester.

"SIR,—AFTER long and anxiously waiting for a cessation of the sad war between our kinsmen of America, we conclude that the time has come for combined action of some plan for pacifying the implacable hostility of the combatants.

“The frightful and vain slaughter of myriads of human beings in battles wholly indecisive ; the symptoms of a retaliatory policy in the further prosecution of the war, with evidence that it is assuming a vengeful and exterminating character ; and the vouched-for fact that every man and woman of the South will die rather than submit to Mr. Lincoln’s domination, convince us that the reconstruction of the Union by the sword is impossible.

“Separation is already accomplished. The South has had ample time to show a capacity for self-existence and self-government, and the Federal power cannot by any means, restore the old Union.

“Why then should we longer hesitate to recommend (in no unfriendly spirit to the Northern people) peace on the basis of Southern independence ?

“One of our leading statesmen declared some time ago that Mr. Davis had made a nation. We desire to act up to the spirit of his saying by urging a friendly joint mediation of the European Powers, preceded by fair and equal recognition of the South as a contracting power.

“This course we think preferable to the ‘cold neutrality’ which looks unmoved on an attempt to annihilate a gallant people, and on the presaging murmurs of Federal anarchy, rapine, and assassination.

“Therefore, in the interest of distracted America, North and South alike, in the interest of our own guiltless suffering people, in the interest of the unhappy negro, and of common humanity, we ask you to join us in this earnest attempt to check the social, moral, and political ruin which protracted civil war must bring upon both parts of the once prosperous Republic.

“We shall be glad to add your name to the committee already formed, and to receive your concurrence in any way you think fit ; and remain, &c.

“THOMAS STALEY, Secretary.”

August, 1863.

Here follow the signatures of forty clergymen, merchants, manufacturers, &c.

MR. SCHOLEFIELD ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WHEN the audience which assembled in the Town Hall a few months since to meet the borough members had heard Mr. Bright's great speech on the American question, the regret appeared to be general amongst the friends of our senior member that he had seen fit in his opening address to introduce the subject in the expression of views that met with so little favour, thereby exposing himself to the mortification and to the rebuke of an unanswerable and triumphant reply. His best friends hoped the affair would be forgotten, and that upon any future occasion he would take care to avoid the subject. This hope, however, has been disappointed; for at a recent meeting he saw fit to recur to it, and to some extent reiterate the opinions expressed in the Town Hall, speaking not in a private capacity, but as a member for the borough, and representing for the time being both himself and his associate. Therefore, there appears to be no alternative to those who are known to be cognisant of this speech, but that of submitting to the appearance of acquiescing in it, or of protesting against it; consequently, it may not be considered inappropriate or officious, in one who has always been a zealous and faithful political supporter, to the extent of his poor ability, of the honourable gentleman, to be the instrument in entering this protest.

The honourable member stated that he "abominated slavery as much as any man, but he believed it was not to be eradicated by force of arms, but to be abolished by the same means which we in our own country employed in our colonies, by the persuasive arts of business remonstrance, and by putting our hands into our pockets to compensate those who by our own laws had been induced to consider

the slaves as their property." He further said, "I think that when an impartial history of the American conflict comes to be written, it must be stated to be on the part of the North, the most cruel and causeless war that has ever been waged by one powerful nation against a weaker."

In replying to these remarks, it may be well in the first place to notice the great difference between the position of Great Britain, with respect to its slaves at the period of the Abolition Act, and that of the American Government and people with respect to the slave question, not only at the present time, but during the whole period of their history.

Under the jurisdiction of Great Britain the slaves numbered but 800,000, and dwelt in islands 4,000 miles distant. They were under the undisputed control of the British Government, and completely in its power. No constitutional impediment interposed to prevent emancipation; a vote of Parliament only was necessary; the people represented in Parliament had it in their power at any time to command that vote, and yet it required the action of philanthropists for a period of more than one hundred years, during forty of which they exerted themselves zealously and energetically, to persuade the people of the propriety and necessity of emancipation, and obtain this vote. Indeed, Lord Brougham, whose opinion on that point was more to be valued than that of any other living man, said, only three years ago, "that had the islands containing the slaves joined Great Britain, he feared slavery would not have been abolished up to the time he was then speaking." The "persuasive arts of business remonstrance," referred to by the honourable member, were in no respect used in favour of emancipation. That was simply a rhetorical flourish, the fact being that all business persuasions were opposed to emancipation, and were the most potent and pertinacious advocates of slavery. The planters, and all those connected with them in Great Britain, flourished greatly; Liverpool and some other places profited largely, first by the slave trade, and afterwards by trade with slave colonies; these circumstances prevented abolition

at an earlier period, and form the reason why there are now so many pro-slavery rebel sympathisers in those places; the love of slavery being inherent in the descendants of the upholders of slavery; but the fact of abolition being effected, in spite of this interest, renders it so much the more creditable.

Now, in respect to slavery in America, there has never been any universal power there which could be evoked in favour of emancipation, and consequently no power that could decree it. It has always been a *State* question, and to be dealt with only by each State in its individual capacity. At the period of the formation of the Constitution, which was finally adopted in the year 1787, great efforts were made to procure total abolition; but the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, would not consent to the measure, and consequently, slavery remained a State institution. These are the States which effected and have sustained the present rebellion, and it will be noticed how true they are to their antecedents. It may here appropriately be asked what possible prospect there would be of the abolition of slavery by the rebel States, could they succeed in establishing their independence, when they would not abolish it in their infancy, while many of their eminent statesmen regarded slavery as a great evil, when the slaves numbered but half a million, when not a single bag of cotton was grown by them, nor when, during a period of seventy-six years, all the philanthropy of the nation being brought to bear against it, they could not be induced even to entertain the question of the most gradual emancipation? what possible prospect would there be of their abolishing slavery, when the slaves number four millions, when the quantity of five millions of bags of cotton is grown, with an increasing demand for three times that quantity, when instead of holding slavery to be an evil, their statesmen and even their divines hold it to be an attribute of Divinity, and propose to make it the "corner stone" of their empire? Let those who, as an excuse for sympathising with the pro-slavery rebels, pretend to the expectation that they would abolish

slavery, answer the question. During the period alluded to, the slaveowners have passed laws to banish the promulgators of abolition doctrines, who, in some instances, have been put to death; they have made it penal to publish or circulate abolition pamphlets, and at one time they procured the passing of a resolution by the "Congress" that no petition relating to slavery should be received. At the present time their wrath against any man culminates in calling him "an abolitionist." They were ready to make war upon England because its people read and applauded "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and yet there are persons so false or so silly, notwithstanding all these evidences to the contrary, who affect to believe that, could these slaveowners establish their independence, they would abolish slavery.

The abolition sentiment in America, however, had not been quiescent. As early as the year 1783, slavery had been abolished in two States; the slave trade was declared piracy some time prior to its abolition by Great Britain in 1809; and seven of the original States had emancipated their slaves ten years before the English Abolition Act, while at the present time there are nineteen free States, containing a population of twenty millions of people, and six other States in the process of emancipating their slaves.

The slaveowners of the cotton States, perceiving the rapid growth of abolition doctrines, and that the institution, confined to its constitutional boundaries, must in the course of time succumb, determined that it should be carried into the territories, regions twenty times larger than England; and they demanded an alteration of the Constitution, not only to permit it, but also allow slaves to be carried into the free States, and to be held as slaves there. This demand the North, having resolved that slavery should not be extended, peremptorily refused to comply with, and hence the rebellion. The slaveowners, who had been preparing for rebellion on this very ground, during more than thirty years, truly interpreting the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency as evidence of the determination of the free States to persist in this refusal, at once carried their intention into

effect. The West Indian slaveowners quietly submitted to the complete abolition of slavery ; while these, not content with possessing it within the bounds originally assigned, rebelled simply because they were not allowed to extend it.

While still in power at Washington, the slaveowners were getting possession of the Government arms and munitions of war ; sending the national troops and ships of war to distant parts ; and, upon the installation of the new President, they took forcible possession of Government forts, ships, and arsenals ; subverted the Government in their own States ; and finally capped the climax by assaulting Fort Sumpter, declaring at the same time they would "capture Washington ;" and not only so, but would "plant the slavery flag on Bunker's Hill," the place of all others in America sacred to the cause of freedom. These "oppressed innocents" did not adopt any constitutional means for obtaining their ends ; they did not petition Congress ; they did not ask to be allowed to withdraw from the Union ; they paid no respect even to their own State Constitutions, but violated them in the most flagrant manner, and by brutal means they coerced their own people into rebellion in opposition to the expressed decision of large majorities. They attacked Fort Sumpter, a Government possession belonging to none of their States, which had a garrison of but eighty men, with seven thousand men, under the command of the valiant Beauregard ; and having captured it, they sent a "peace" message to the President, embodied in the following miserable distich, viz. :—

" With cannon, mortar, and petard,
We send to thee our Beauregard."

This was the commencement of the war, which, according to our honourable member, "the North made upon the South," notwithstanding which, the miserable prattle of "the North making war upon the South" is constantly heard ; and let it be here noticed that it was not necessary to attack Fort Sumpter in order to get possession of it, for the garrison had but two days' provisions when attacked, it had no means

of getting more, it had not fired a shot, nor had its commander intended to fire a shot, all of which circumstances were well known to the rebels; but it was attacked and battered for the sole purpose of spilling blood and *commencing the war*, with a view to inflame the passions and excite the war spirit of their own people. This no one denies, or pretends to deny.

Although in the progress of the attempt to put down rebellion, slavery may be abolished by "force of arms," and all sincere haters of slavery must, after what has occurred, hope that it will be, it is a misrepresentation to say that "the North made war upon the South for the purpose of putting down slavery by force of arms." The North, while using every constitutional means to procure the abolition of slavery, never proposed to abolish it within its constitutional limits, by "force of arms."

After the rebellion broke out, the President recommended, and the Congress approved, the very measure which our honourable member says must be adopted. He proposed to pay the States for emancipating their slaves. He proposed compensation, and also offered a free pardon to the rebels, with the exception of those who should remain in arms after a day named, and a few others. The proposal was rejected with scorn. It was not even taken into consideration. The rebels had determined to found an empire, the corner-stone of which should be slavery; they declared slavery was "an attribute of Divinity," and that the world would eventually acknowledge it to be "ordained of God." This remuneration for the freeing of the slaves would, at five hundred dollars for each slave, amount to the sum of, not twenty millions sterling only, but to four hundred millions; or, at three hundred dollars each, the lowest sum named, to two hundred and forty millions sterling; but no, the rebels held that "Cotton was King," and that England and France, for the pecuniary motive of getting cotton, would assist in establishing a slave empire. Immense strides toward complete emancipation have been made during the war. The President, as "a war measure," in which sense only would the

Constitution justify the act, has declared the slaves in States in open rebellion "free." This proclamation will be sustained by force of arms, and so far as that warrants the assertion that the North is putting down slavery "by force of arms," the honourable member is welcome to it. The battle is now to all intents and purposes between freedom and slavery, and it will be continued until one or the other triumphs.

With reference to the statement that "the conflict waged by the North is the most cruel and causeless ever waged by a powerful nation with a weaker," it has already been shown that the North is in no respect responsible for the war, but that it was made by the slaveowners; it was made upon a Government of their own; a Government under which they had enjoyed equal rights with their Northern brethren; a Government in which their power had predominated; a Government under which they had enjoyed full protection and great prosperity; from which they had been subject to no hardship, and against which they could allege no complaint; in fact, against a Government which they themselves declared to be the "most beneficent in the world." They made war upon this Government for the base purpose of establishing slavery upon a sure foundation; for the purpose of extending it into almost boundless regions, and perpetuating it to the remotest generations; and finally, for the purpose of holding the rule in the hands of a few arrogant, imperious, aggressive slaveholding oligarchs, to the debasement and enslavement of all other classes, whether black or white. These slave oligarchs and their worthless minions, hold labour to be degrading, and fit only for a servile class; they hold all men who get their living by the sweat of their face in utter contempt.

Now, what course would the honourable member for Birmingham have recommended the Government of America to pursue with respect to the rebellion? It must have quietly submitted to these deadly aggressions; it must have permitted the dismemberment of the nation; the dismemberment of a country tied and dovetailed together in its geographical re-

lations by its rivers and its mountains, and artificially by its roads, its canals, and its thousand connections grown up and confirmed by long continuous friendly relations; it must have connived at and permitted the severance of a people marrying and intermarrying, and linked together in one common brotherhood, save only with respect to the one institution which time would certainly eradicate, should it be held to its defined limits; it must have consigned millions upon millions of human beings, made in God's own image, having no fault but that of differing in colour, to perpetual bondage; it must have permitted the establishment upon its own borders and at its own doors, of a power having in its composition every element of aggression; of a vaunting imperious power, flaunting in its face an institution odious to its feelings; the establishment of a power the very first requirement from which would be a pledge to return every runaway slave, the alternative of refusal being continuous war; it must have consented to a state of things that would have demanded a large standing army and an extensive navy, the seeds and the certain cause of interminable quarrels; and perhaps, more than all, while England* is ready to go to war for the rescue of a single one of its subjects, it must basely and ignominiously have deserted hundreds of thousands of its loyal subjects in the South, imploring its aid, and whom it had sworn to protect, leaving them to the tyranny and oppression of an unscrupulous slavery despotism. In fact, it must have renounced manhood, abjured humanity, stood confessed before the world the representation of a craven, cowardly, worthless people, alike regardless of their duty to themselves, to their country, to man, and to God; or it must have accepted the battle thus offered to it and forced upon it. Thank God, it chose the latter.

Now which of these courses would the honourable member have recommended? Place England in the same situation, and there is not an Englishman breathing, worthy of the name of Englishman, who would not sooner see his country

* Witness its expenditure of ten millions on the Magdala expedition.

sink into endless night, than see it succumb to such an atrocious outrage upon everything that man holds dear.

In summing up these observations, it will be seen that the "North did not make war upon the South," but simply accepted battle made upon it, wantonly and wickedly; that the fight was unavoidable on its part, and not causeless; that the issues were not trivial, but momentous to America and to the world; that the North has not waged war, nor even accepted battle, for the purpose of eradicating slavery from its constitutional limits by "force of arms;" that the Government has proposed to purchase abolition, not by the payment of twenty millions of pounds only, but by the payment of two hundred and forty millions, possibly four hundred millions of pounds; that the rebels have refused this, and also a free pardon; and that the North had no other way but to fight, and has none now but to fight on, trusting to the power of its arm, to the goodness of its cause, and to the favour of the Almighty. By these means the rebellion will be put down, and the conflict brought to a termination alike glorious to America and honourable to man. And further, it may be said, when this ending shall come, and an impartial history of the times shall be written, the wonder will not be that the Americans opposed the rebellion, but that in Christian Europe, a man could have been found, gentle or simple, who could so far be led astray by false sentiment, or false sympathies, as to be induced to give to the rebellion the slightest advocacy or support. The honourable member says his views "are conscientious;" I believe it, but that is not a sufficient excuse for catching up, circulating, and advocating, erroneous doctrines, to the prejudice of a noble cause and an outraged people.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 29th, 1863.

AMERICA VERSUS ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—IN one of the leading articles in your paper to-day, you find it difficult to reconcile the feeling exhibited in America towards England, with that apparently entertained toward France, which, being a matter of some importance, and it being desirable there should be a right understanding on the subject, I will, with your leave, endeavour to throw some light upon it, premising that as the Americans, with all the faults which some attribute to them, are a reasoning people, I shall be able to show that they at least, think there is a cause for the problem which seems to puzzle you.

In the first place, the intercommunication, *the interchange of ideas*, between America and England, is nearly one thousand times greater than between America and France. Probably one hundred times more is written of either country by the other, than is written in America and France of each other; consequently ill-feeling, however extensive, if not made known, does not fructify and become the parent of a numerous brood of dislikes, people being dealt with, and communities set by the ears, through what is said, and not through what possibly may be thought.

Secondly. The French periodicals have not had correspondents in America misrepresenting their every word and action, imputing motives never entertained, and accounting their sincerest and most praiseworthy acts, simply evidences of hypocrisy.

Thirdly. No influential portion of the French press has systematically and persistently belied nearly every good action of the free men of America, nor as persistently applauded the acts of the rebels, however vile.

Fourthly. The French have not fitted out fleets of steamers to run the blockade and carry supplies to the rebels, and

thereby caused a prolongation of the war to double the period it would have continued without such aid.

Fifth. The French have not built, and equipped, and manned, privateers to sail out of their ports to plunder and burn American merchantmen.

Now, to whatever extent international law may permit these latter-named things to be done, you can but allow that the doing of them is calculated to occasion ill-feeling. I think also, you would have shown greater candour, or a more correct perception of the subject, had you seen and pointed out that the difference of feeling exhibited on the occasions under your notice, in favour of France, arose mainly on what I will number the *seventh* cause, viz. :—

That France had not built iron-clad men-of-war for the rebels, to be manned by French sailors, for the purpose of battering down American cities; nor had an influential portion of the people of France and of the French press held such proceedings to be lawful and right. You will allow that had France, under similar circumstances, maintained this doctrine, and supplied such ships to be used against England, the first expostulation from England would have been in the thunder of its cannon. I will admit that such a proceeding on the part of the Americans would be *discourteous*, but still a little scolding may be excused. Undoubtedly great allowances should be made for England; it being so accustomed to a monopoly of the privilege of giving blows, it is surprised they are taken in dudgeon, regarding them as a wholesome discipline for the world in general: and who shall deny it!

Another cause of the appearance of ill-feeling towards England, not manifested towards France, must not be lost sight of, viz., many discontented British subjects go to America, where they are connected with, or influence, some portion of the press, and find relief for wrongs, real or fancied, in decrying England; an enmity is thereby shown on the surface of current discussions not entertained by Americans themselves. Shall I mention another cause? Americans at all times expect much from England; they care little com-

paratively for the opinions of other nations ; when, therefore, England falls short of their expectations, and especially when it proves, as they think, recreant to its own principles, however erroneous such supposition may be, their disappointment is great, and their manifestations of indignation oftentimes appear uncalled for, if not ludicrous.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 24th, 1863.

THE NEW ZEALANDERS AND THE AMERICANS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—A QUEER rumour comes from America. According to the story, the people there are greatly excited over the war in New Zealand. Much sympathy is expressed for the natives, and efforts are making by the pro-Zealanders to induce the Government to recognise them. It is urged that the valour displayed in their raids upon the settlers, and the pluck shown in defying the British nation, entitle them to independence, and to the admiration of mankind. The rumour at present requires confirmation, but should it prove true, these proceedings of the Americans will form a striking example of the inconsistency of man, inasmuch, as that they are an exact counterpart of those which they so bitterly complain of in the British people in respect to themselves.

It is well known in America that the New Zealanders are cannibals, and that the British settlers have for a series of years limited the practice to a particular district, striving all the time to procure its entire abolition. It is also known

that the present outbreak is for the express purpose of consolidating, extending, and perpetuating the diabolical institution; consequently the sympathisers who are not ready openly to defend the practice of cannibalism, but affect to be opposed to it, find it necessary to offer an excuse for their aid to its continuance. This excuse is as unique as it is ingenious. They pretend that the sure way to get rid of cannibalism, is to permit the natives to extend it throughout the continent, urging the very remarkable reason, that as the custom has become more and more popular while confined to a small district, and while under the ban; it will soon die out, if all opposition to it be removed, and it be allowed to become universal; and this doctrine, strange to say, is quite popular, no one being able to refute it.

It appears the natives have been for some years planning this rebellion, but no overt act took place until the appointment of the new Governor. He was reported to be a strong anti-cannibalist, and the moment he came into office, the natives commenced murdering the British settlers. At the last dates, having become emboldened by success, and through aid afforded by some American ships on the coast, they had declared they would establish a Cannibalistic Empire, and that the world should presently acknowledge the divine origin of the institution. They even go so far as to say the Englishman's Bible upholds the practice, because it nowhere condemns it.

The rumour states that many books have already been written in defence of the designs of the savages, and in condemnation of the proceedings of the Governor and settlers, and much horror is expressed at the brutality of the latter in defending themselves. One of the leaders of these settlers, who had rescued a young child from the infernal purposes of the barbarians, had incurred especial indignation. One old gentleman, the learned Judge A——, who formerly, when in full practice and aspiring to a high position, was a great philanthropist, in fact *the Lord Brougham* of America, declares that it is cruel and infamous on the part of the Governor and settlers to defend themselves and coerce the

savages. He says he has long been an anti-Cannibalist, and has foregone many brilliant entertainments and profitable proposals, because of the introduction of the objectionable cookery ; but that he never used any weapon against it but moral suasion, and never will. Further, he declares the British settlers to be a set of humbugs, says they are as fond of the institution as the natives themselves ; or, that they would have put down the institution by force long ago, in spite of all treaty stipulations to the contrary. Some cynical persons have remarked that suasion would not repel tomahawks, and that using force, prior to the commencement of the tomahawking, would have been quite inconsistent with his doctrine of relying upon suasion only ; but the Judge, who has become somewhat muddled, cannot see it, and replies peevishly, "that it is none of his business to reconcile inconsistencies."

The sympathisers are forming an association for the purpose of forcing recognition upon the Government. They have appointed a numerous committee, and, strange to say, it comprises many clergymen. They have subsidised a portion of the press, have retained several members of Congress, and are leaving no means untried to accomplish their nefarious ends. Agents also have arrived from New Zealand, for the purpose of obtaining aid. These promise great commercial advantages, and everlasting enmity to the British. They are contracting for arms, ammunition, and ships, and also a loan ; offering, as security, a mortgage on a gold mountain in the interior of New Zealand, known only to themselves, and also one-half of all the gold that may be captured in British ships by these pirate vessels, now fitting out in America. There is some division of sentiment in the Cabinet at Washington with respect to these proceedings. The Secretary of the Treasury is opposed to recognition, but says the savages have made a nation. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs is also opposed to intermeddling, but declares that the British settlers are simply fighting for empire, and that the rebels must succeed ; assertions, which take amazingly ; although it is evident to every observant person that but for vigorous

resistance by the settlers every man of them would have his throat cut, and that when John Bull can get at the rascals he will soon settle their stomachs for them. "Honest Abe" goes entirely with the English. He "has always opposed cannibalism, and always will;" he was taught by his parents that it was wicked, and his own reflections confirm the truth of their teaching. He "cannot see that lifting it up will put it down," and is for getting rid of it now, once and for ever, while the rebellion gives the opportunity and legalises its abolition. Numbers of good men go with him, but all the pharisees and hypocrites, who form a strong party, side with the savages.

ALLEGORIST.

October, 1863.



A FEDERAL ADVOCATE.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—IN your Saturday's number, in commenting upon the speeches of Messrs. Bright and Cobden, you make the following remarks, which for the sake of convenience I have numbered from one to five, viz. :—

1st. "Let it be remembered that the votes possessed by the Americans are coerced for the most flagrant party purposes."

2nd. "That by 'the good will of an instructed people' men are shot down in the streets and strung up to lamp-posts, because they happen to be black."

3rd. "That the 'unlimited resources' are left to be paid for or repudiated by future generations."

4th. "That the President chosen by the people is supported in his place by the bayonets of a vile military despotism."

5th. And, "that the 'multitudes who fly from the burdens and neglect of the old Governments of Europe,' reach 'a haven and a home' where they are enlisted into a service which American patriotism shuns as a pestilence."

I respectfully beg to say that you are misinformed upon all these points, and, for the benefit of your readers, I will, with your permission, state the facts in relation to them.

With respect to the first assertion, the American voters should best know whether they are or are not coerced into voting against their will. Such complaint has never been heard from any one of them. During the most violent contests no party nor persons have ever charged their opponents with coercing the voters. The utmost that has been said is, that demagogues have deceived voters, and induced them to vote contrary to what they would have done. This deception, however, so far as borne out by facts, has applied almost exclusively to the ignorant whites of the slave States, acting under the influence of the slaveocracy, and the low Irish of the North, acted upon by demagogues, who have universally been of the pro-slavery party. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how votes, to any important extent, can be coerced, when they are given in by tens and hundreds of thousands, and by ballot. It is hazarding nothing to say that, whether for good or evil, nine hundred and ninety-nine votes out of every thousand, in the free States, are given in, precisely as the voter chooses.

With respect to the second assertion, it refers specifically to the riots in New York, where the blacks were fearfully abused. It was not "by the good will of an instructed people," that these riots occurred. It is notorious that the rioters were composed mostly of low Irish and a small sprinkling of other foreigners, together with a few thieves and blackguards, of home birth. The education of these Irish was not American; nor was their predilection for club law of American growth. They had acquired this, and their disposition to row, under a Conservative Government, where the baneful effects of possessing the right to vote had never been felt by any one of them. Their antipathy to the blacks

arises from the fear of competition in the labour market. In fact, these quarrels of the Irish with the blacks, which pro-slavery writers in this country have attempted to fix upon the Americans, are of the same character as the fights which often take place between Irish and English labourers in the old country. In the instance under consideration, resistance to the draught was the object of the outbreak, and the Irish were moved to it by scoundrel emissaries from the pro-slavery rebels; the riot, however, soon changed to an assault upon the blacks, to plunder, fire, and murder. But how did the American people, and the Government chosen by the people, act upon the occasion? They promptly put down the mob, restored order, and brought the criminals to justice; at the same time, by extensive acts of charity and kindness, they made restitution to the blacks, so far as restitution could be made, and the people of New York have from that time to the present been unremitting in their endeavours to atone for the outrages committed upon their coloured brethren.

With respect to the third assertion, the revolution of 1776 left the American Government deeply in debt. The debt was much larger in proportion to the wealth of the country than it is now likely to be, even should the war continue for seven years, the period fixed by many good judges. That debt was honourably paid. Two debts which had accumulated since that period, one through the war of 1812, have also been paid, some portion of the last at a premium of twenty-eight per cent. Since the peace with America, 1783, England has incurred a debt of nine hundred millions sterling, four times larger than the present American debt; and during a period of forty-eight years of nearly profound peace, has hardly paid off ten per cent of it; and yet no one doubts the security. Then why should the security of the comparatively small debt of America, be doubted or disparaged, when, with a population much larger than that of England, rapidly increasing, and with large additions by continuous immigration, it has undeveloped resources in gold, silver, lead, iron, coal, and arable land, at least fifty times greater than is possessed by England proper. The present Government,

expenditure being mainly at home, among its own citizens, does not materially impoverish the country, but to some extent occasions production and reproduction which otherwise would not take place. Nor does the loss of the labour of the soldiers, prove to be a dead loss to the country. The old folks and young folks at home, and the women, have, by increased exertions, and by the aid of a greater number of immigrants, kept up production at least to its previous maximum. The present income of the Government is sufficient to meet the interest of the debt and all current expenses, apart from the war; so that there is not the slightest pretext for sneering at present resources, because they draw upon the future energies of the nation.

With respect to the fourth assertion, it is notorious that every President, from Washington to the present time, has been elected by the free voice of the people, and that the minorities have always freely acquiesced in the choice, and given to the Presidents, at least a constitutional support, until this pro-slavery rebellion. No President has ever had so much as a corporal's guard to support him, and when this rebellion broke out, the entire army amounted to no more than about seven thousand men, scattered over a territory of nearly two millions of square miles. The present President was elected to office by the best class of voters throughout the country, embracing all who were in favour of the abolition of slavery. The whole influence of the then existing pro-slavery Government was brought against him. The whole force of the low democracy, so far as there is a low democracy, including all the negro-killers and negro-haters, was brought against them. In raising a military force to put down rebellion, and in directing its action, he has simply carried into effect acts of a Congress chosen directly by the people and by universal suffrage. His military acts have been, for the most part, simply what the people have demanded of him as their constitutional leader, and instead of holding his position by military power, as opposed to the people, he has recently received the approval of the people in a more emphatic manner than was ever before awarded

to any Government. Overwhelming majorities in every State but one, besides the rebel States, have been given in high approval of his administration. To say that he exercises military power, any further than is demanded by the people, or that he is supported in his position by bayonets, any further than they are directed against rebels in arms, is simply to libel truth.

With respect to the fifth assertion, it may be stated that an elaborate book was published last year by the Sanitary Committee, which the *Times* pronounced the most complete of its kind ever written, in which the nativity of every soldier was stated, and which showed that three-fourths of them were native born. More than six hundred thousand natives, born citizens, have joined the armies of President Lincoln, and nearly the whole by volunteering. To call this shunning the service like a pestilence, appears to be a prostitution of terms. In reference to foreigners "enlisted" into the service, Irish for the most part; they act with their eyes open; they have the best possible information. Not a mail arrives from America but brings hundreds, perhaps thousands of letters from the Irish in America to their relatives at home. The writers may be mistaken, but they are no doubt sincere in advising these relatives to emigrate, and the advice is acted upon so generally, that there is some danger of this truly "gem of the sea" becoming depopulated. Now, if the Irish, acting of their own free will, choose to leave a country where they enjoy the full blessing of having no vote, and no political standing, and, to them, the inestimable comfort of half a stomach-full of potatoes, and to fly to one where they can obtain full employment at high wages, and 160 acres of fine land for thirty days' labour, together with the full right of citizenship in five years; American patriotism should not be called in question because they do so, and because some of them enlist into the army; nor can their enlistment, if they choose, be prevented, except by a law which would be unconstitutional, tyrannical, and despotic.

If, Sir, I have not succeeded in showing the assertions alluded to, to be inaccurate, it must be attributed to my

imperfect mode of dealing with them, and not to want of material. All I care for, is truth, whether it bears hard on America or not. It is no part of my business to affect to show the superiority of the American institutions, over those of the old countries; nor have I the inclination to attempt it. They will stand on their own merits; but I will maintain that the strongest Government is that which best possesses the affections of its people; that England is stronger as a nation now, than before the Reform Bill, and that it would be stronger still, were three millions of its people enfranchised, instead of one million. That, however, forms no part of my argument. Whether one man should rule, or the universal people, is a matter of taste with the people who order it. On the rebellion breaking out in America, it was said, "the great Republic is broken up; its institutions are a rope of sand;" and yet it has withstood the shock of the most powerful rebellion the world has ever seen, while the strongest Government on the Continent of Europe, has been upset three times in a lifetime, by a few discharges of cannon!

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

1863.

[WE insert Mr. Goddard's letter, on the good old English principle of giving a fair hearing to both sides. Abjuring all partizanship in the melancholy struggle proceeding in America, we deeply regret that the facts, notwithstanding our correspondent's statements and arguments, are decidedly against him.—ED. *D. G.*]

LORD HARTINGTON ON AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—LORD Hartington is a philosopher. He can derive comfort from adversity, provided it does not affect him personally. He says, "Lancashire is emerging from the blackness of darkness, while the Northern States of America are enjoying a greater amount of apparent prosperity than they ever enjoyed before ; but to them a dreadful reckoning must come. The utter prostration that has fallen upon Lancashire is infinitely better, and we ought to thank Providence for it, when compared with the fatal prosperity with which the United States of America are now cursed. It was better for us to know at once and to take measures to meet the calamity, and slowly and feebly to recover from it, than to go recklessly on, as those States are doing now, into a course which all thinking men must know, can lead to nothing but utter and complete national ruin. How long that day may be averted it is impossible to say, but if there be any truth in history, and if we can derive any information from its lessons, I think we cannot doubt, however much we may deplore, that a catastrophe such as the world has never seen, must overtake that once flourishing and prosperous country."

Many of Lord Hartington's readers, not being Lancashire men, probably accept this twaddle, as sound doctrine. It coincides with what the *Times* tells them, and to some extent conforms to their wishes, and therefore they believe it. In the present instance both parties seem to be pleased. The Americans with their prosperity, and Lord Hartington with the adversity of his Lancashire friends. Those most interested, the Lancashire operatives themselves, are not consulted ; possibly they would prefer American beef and pudding, at the risk of short commons on some future day, to present

starvation. Men are not all philosophers, and it is quite possible that were the noble Lord to divide with the Lancashire workmen on this question, he would find himself alone in the lobby.

The Americans find it difficult to please every one. Moreover they are somewhat perverse. They have, up to this time, refused to be ruined, as the rebels and their advocate the *Times*, declared they would be. The "grass" is not "growing in their streets;" their people are not "thrown out of employment and reduced to beggary;" their adopted citizens are not "fleeing the country through fear of starvation;" nor from "having had enough of American institutions," as the *Times* said they would; but, on the contrary, the unparalleled prosperity," and now, according to the *Times*, the foreigners in America, instead of flocking home by shiploads, are "sending for their friends to come and join them;" and these invitations are accepted to such an extent that Ireland, at least, "is in some danger of becoming depopulated."

This contumaciousness on the part of the Americans in not accepting ruin at the command of the rebels, and the *Times*, brings down upon them, through the same channels, these fearful predictions of future ruin. A nobleman aspiring to distinction some day, should aim at originality, and not content himself and lower his position by repeating the worthless prognostications of the *Times*. This unprincipled print, failing in all its prophecies, endeavours to recover lost credit by further attempts in the same direction, becoming like the gambler, more and more reckless the more it loses, and as it has for a series of years advocated a system which has brought ruin in this country periodically, it can, in its malignity and shortsightedness, see no other way for the Americans than that of following in the same course and being subjected to the like disasters. Lord Hartington, borrowing from this source, retails the same notions to his Lancashire friends, and thus shows his incapacity to deal with a great economic question.

The noble Lord says: "the Americans are going recklessly

upon a course which all thinking men must know will lead to nothing but utter and complete national ruin." Rather than that they should prosper on greenbacks, rather than they should spend a little money, he would have them quietly submit to the rebels, allow their nation to be broken up, have a slave empire established upon their borders, with the obligation to return every fugitive slave, and to maintain permanently a large standing army and navy ; in a word, to have their large and happy country reduced to the miserable state of Europe, which, owing to its subdivisions, is the scene of constant bickerings, constant negotiations, constant quarrels ; has to support large standing armies and navies ; in fact, is continually subject to wars and rumours of wars. In addition to this he would have them, and all for the sake of saving their own pockets, for no other reason is hinted at by him, nor even dreamed of, he would have them consign remorselessly four millions of their fellow-creatures and their progeny, to a beastly soul-degrading slavery. By no possible plea can the noble Lord escape the charge of preferring these results, to that of spending money. Now, in reply to his assertions, he may be told that there are five millions of freemen in America, most of them as "thinking" as he ; a vast many of them more learned, perhaps wiser, perhaps as pious ; thousands upon thousands richer ; most of them knowing vastly more of their position and far more interested ; and all having much greater anxiety for the welfare of their country than he possibly can have ; there are five millions of these who think they have a work to do and mean to do it at all cost and at all hazards, who feel and know that there is no other course open to them consistent with honour and humanity than that which they are pursuing in putting down the rebellion, and along with it slavery ; in purging their country of the foul poison which, as facts show, had not only insinuated itself into their very vitals, but had by its insidious action contaminated to some extent almost one-half of the mind of England itself. They mean to establish the nation on a great and glorious foundation ; and profiting by experience and by the teachings of Eng-

land's wisest philanthropists, make their nation an example to all the world, of uprightness and magnanimity.

The war has taught America what nothing else would have taught, that the great secret of fully employing labour, and of ensuring universal prosperity, is to have a medium of exchange between property and labour equivalent to the requirement. Because it has established such a medium of exchange, and because this medium is effective, it no more follows that there must be a collapse, and that ruin will be the result, than it follows that a man must become poor, because he has become rich. Through the want of an equable and sufficient medium of exchange between property and labour, the production of Great Britain has been one hundred millions a year for forty-five years, less than it otherwise might have been. The *Times*, to the extent of its power, has been instrumental to this result, and has through advantages offered to capitalists by the vices of the system, assisted in taking one thousand millions from the hands of labour, and putting it into the pockets of its masters and paymasters, the moneyocracy. Lord Hartington thinks this miserable farce, is to be re-enacted in America, but he will one day learn his mistake.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 8th, 1863.



WILL THE REBEL STATES OF AMERICA COME BACK INTO THE UNION ?

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE remark may be heard at every corner, it has been repeated until worn threadbare, that "the rebels may be conquered, but will never be homogeneous with the

Union, but will require to be kept down by a standing army." This supposition is not borne out by England's experience; it is not supported in the case of Scotland, nor, setting aside the estrangement caused by a difference of religion, in the case of Ireland. But whether this be so or not, it must be admitted that, in order to form a competent opinion on the subject, in order to give an opinion of any value, one must be intimately acquainted with the facts of the case, including the cause of the rebellion, the character and motives of the prominent actors in it, and with the character and feelings of the people at large; and it is doing those in this locality, who are so ready to repeat the remark alluded to and to dogmatise on the subject, no injustice, to say, that not one of them is so qualified.

The remark is made on the supposition that this is a rebellion of the people at large, and was caused by some real grievances to which they were subjected. Were such the case, it would unquestionably be very difficult in the first place to put it down, and in the second to pacify the people. But it is not so. They had no grievance; they enjoyed every right that it was possible for a people to enjoy under the most beneficent Government; they were entirely satisfied with their Government, and proud of their nationality; indeed, for a series of years they had pretended to be even prouder of it than the Northerners. They had been taught, however, by the slaveowners, who formed but $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their whole number, to hate abolitionists, and that the "Yankees" were all abolitionists. In this way a sectional feeling was created; and when the slaveowners forced their States into rebellion because the free States refused to permit the extension of slavery, they were enabled to turn this sectional animosity, which had been fostered for the purpose, to account; it enabled them to induce large numbers to join in the rebellion; and, having once raised an army, by threats and force, they made the population mainly subservient to their views. Wherever, therefore, the rebel leaders can keep armies together sufficient to maintain a position and overawe the people, very little Union sentiment will be mani-

festated ; but where these are put down, and the people no longer stand in fear of their tyrants, the rebellion collapses like a bubble ; and there being nothing to complain of, and nothing to hope for, under any form of government which could be devised that cannot be possessed and enjoyed under the general government, save the right to hold slaves, which but few had any interest in, the people at large will be only too happy to be allowed to come back into the old Union. The term "allowed" is used advisedly ; because re-admission into the Union is to be permitted as a boon, and not as a right. But without going into these speculations, let us hear what the rebels themselves say. *They* should be the best judges of their own views and intentions. Animosity, through the old anti-abolition feeling and the collisions of war, would no doubt induce vast numbers of the Southerners to wish for separation ; but they have in this case to do, as men in all others have to do, whether in rebellion, or in the prize ring, succumb to circumstances, and when beaten, to give in, and make the best of it.

"General Gaunt," who had been a prominent rebel of the State of Arkansas, a brigadier-general in the rebel service, been in several battles, been taken prisoner and exchanged, has recently written and spoken on the subject of rebellion. He is one amongst a great number who have proclaimed similar sentiments. A Union club has been recently formed in the State of Arkansas, one of the rebel States, in which there is still a rebel army. In addressing the club, he says : "As secessionists, we supposed we were out of the Union. We went out to protect slavery. We failed. We must come back. For what purpose must we come back ? To protect slavery ? The absurdity is too monstrous to be tolerated for one moment. We went out to protect the negro. We come back to protect the white man. We regard the negro question as definitely settled by the last source of appeal ; and we say there let it rest. We who own slaves, have lost, fairly lost, and we must abide the decision. The people of Arkansas are, therefore, the proper ones to act in its final extinction in our midst. The sooner we do it the better for

us and the country. To many this truth is unpalatable, but we cannot blink it; it must be met. Let us do it like men. There is a large and growing party in the North that is disposed to reduce the seceded States to the condition of territories. The central idea of the party is to get rid of slavery, as the source of all our calamities. It would be unbecoming in us, as well as a waste of time, to get up and argue with them their abstract right to do this. Let us anticipate them, and cut under them at once, by meeting in convention at the earliest day that we can be empowered so to do, and extirpate for ever the last vestige of slavery in our midst, and bury out of sight this source of all our calamities, personal, state, and national. By thus formally giving up what is already lost, we will have secured to us all our rights as equal States in the Union. If we do not do so, I give it as my opinion, that right or wrong, we will be reduced to the condition of a territory, and so remain, until we do settle this question definitely at once and for ever. You cannot have a soldier in the army who has not already reached, or who is not closely approximating the conclusion, that his health, happiness, and life, have been exposed and jeopardised because of negro slavery; and who does not feel, and who will not insist, that after all his toil and hardships, the question which diplomacy and statesmanship could not settle, being now settled by the sword, should be put at rest for ever.

“The people of Arkansas are ready to return to their allegiance to the Government, and to renew their devotion, which shall know hereafter neither change nor decay. The loyalty to Jefferson Davis in Arkansas, does not extend practically beyond the shadow of his army, while the hatred of him is as wide-spread as it is intense. The Union sentiment is manifesting itself on all sides and by every indication; in Union meetings; in desertions from the Confederate army; in taking the oath of allegiance unsolicited; in organising for home defence; and in enlisting into the Federal army. Old flags that have been hid in the crevices of the rocks, and been worshipped by our mountain people as holy

relics, are flung to the breeze, and followed by the Union army with an enthusiasm that beggars all description."

These are the opinions of a man thoroughly informed on the whole subject, one whose heart has been in the rebellion, but who sees that it is an entire failure. Who, with limited information, after these emphatic and earnest declarations, will pretend for one moment that slavery was not the cause of the rebellion; that the North is not sincere in its desire to put slavery down; or, that the people of the South at large, discarding the principal rebel leaders, who will be glad to flee to where

" Their shades can stalk on some drear coast,
To fame, to honour, glory, lost ; "

will not joyfully seek re-admission into the Union, " and renew a devotion, which shall know hereafter neither change nor decay ? "

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 15th, 1863.



THE ADDRESS OF THE SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE ASSOCIATION, UPON ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN LONDON, DEC., 1863.

"PUBLIC opinion is becoming enlightened upon the disruption of the late United States, and upon the character of the war which has been raging on the American Continent for nearly three years. British subjects were at first hardly able to realise a federation of States, each in itself possessed of sovereign attributes; while deriving their views of American history from New York and New England, they ascribed the secession of the Southern States to pique at a

lost election, and to fear for the continuance of an institution peculiarly distasteful to Englishmen. Assurances were rife from these quarters, that the movement was the conspiracy of a few daring men, and that a strong Union sentiment existed in the seceding States, which would soon assert its existence under stress of the war.

“Gradually the true causes of the disruption have made themselves more and more manifest. The long-widening and now insuperable divergence of character and interests between the two sections of the former Union has been made palpable by the facts of the gigantic struggle. Their wisdom in council, their endurance in the field, and the universal self-sacrifice which has characterised their public and their private life, have won general sympathy for the Confederates as a people worthy of, and who have earned their independence.

“On the other hand, the favourable judgment which Englishmen had long cherished as a duty towards that portion of the United States which they imagined most to resemble the mother country, has met with many rude shocks from the spectacles which have been revealed in that land of Government tyranny, corruption in high places, ruthlessness in war, untruthfulness of speech, and causeless animosity towards Great Britain. At the same time, the Southerners who had been very harshly judged in this country, have manifested the highest national characteristics, to the surprise and admiration of all.

“Public men are awakening to the truth, that it is both useless and mischievous to ignore the gradual settlement of Central North America into groups of States, or consolidated nationalities, each an independent power. They feel that the present attempt of the North, is in manifest opposition to this law of natural progress, and they see that the South can never be re-united with the North except as a conquered and garrisoned dependency; whilst the Northern States, if content to leave their former partners alone, are still in possession of all the elements of great and growing national power and wealth.

“Our commercial classes are also beginning to perceive, that our best interests will be promoted by creating a direct trade with a people so enterprising as the Confederates, inhabiting a land so wide and so abundant in the richest gifts of Providence, and anxious to place themselves in immediate connection with the manufacturers and consumers of Europe.

“In short, the struggle is now felt to be, according to Earl Russell’s pregnant expression, one for independence on the part of the South, and for empire on the part of the North; for an independence, on the one hand, which it is equitable for themselves and desirable for the world that they should achieve; for an empire, on the other hand, which is only possible at the price of the first principles of Federal Republicanism, and whose establishment by fire and sword, and at a countless cost of human life on both sides, would be the ruin of the Southern States. These, surely, are reasons which invoke the intervention of other Powers, if intervention be possible, in the cause of common humanity.

“Therefore, not in enmity to the North, but sympathising with the Confederates, the Southern Independence Association of London has been formed, to act in concert with that which is so actively and usefully at work in Manchester. It will serve as the rallying point in London of all who believe that the dignity and interest of Great Britain will best be consulted by speedily and cheerfully recognising a brave people sprung from ourselves, speaking our language, heretofore organised for internal government into well-established sovereignties, now confederated under a stable Central Administration, and claiming recognition, in accordance with those principles of British policy which have always been more inclined to help the oppressed than to justify and abet the oppressor, and ever to respect a unanimous national will.

“The precedents of the separation of Belgium and Greece, and of the re-construction of Italy, exist as modern instances to show that Great Britain is always ready to acknowledge, rather than to resist, a national uprising. It would be difficult to show that any of these countries was as well or-

ganised for self-government as the Confederate States have now been for nearly three years. Unlike them, each State of the Confederacy had its own constitution and government complete and in working order, and had ever since gone on acting upon them without change or difficulty.

"The Association will also devote itself to the cultivation of friendly feelings between the people of Great Britain and of the Confederate States; and it will, in particular, steadily but kindly represent to the Southern States, that recognition by Europe must necessarily lead to a revision of the system of servile labour unhappily bequeathed to them by England, in accordance with the spirit of the age, so as to combine the gradual extinction of slavery with the preservation of property, the maintenance of the civil polity, and the true civilisation of the negro race.

London, December, 1863.

" Committee.

" With power to add to their number.

" The Most Noble the Marquis of Lothian, *c.*
 The Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, *c.*
 The Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., *c.*
 The Lord Eustace Cecil, *c.*
 The Right Honourable Lord Wharncliffe, *c.*
 The Right Honourable Lord Campbell, *l.*
 The Honourable C. Fitzwilliam, M.P., *l.*
 The Honourable Robert Bourke, *c.*
 Edward Akroyd, Esq., Halifax, *l. c.*
 Colonel Greville, M.P., *l.*
 W. H. Gregory, Esq., M.P., *l.*
 T. C. Haliburton, Esq., M.P., *c.*
 A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., *c.*
 W. S. Lindsay, Esq., M.P., *l.*
 G. M. W. Peacocke, Esq., M.P., *c.*
 William Scholefield, Esq., M.P., *l.*
 James Spence, Esq., Liverpool, *Rebel Agent.*
 William Vansittart, Esq., M.P., *c.*
 Chairman—A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq.

• NOTE—*c.* Conservative. *l.* Liberal."

REPLY TO THE SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE ASSOCIATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE address of the “Southern Independence Association,” copied into your paper of Monday, is a document of too grave significance to be lightly regarded by the advocates in Birmingham of political freedom and social progress. The object of this Association, and of similar associations in Lancashire, is, by a heavy pressure from without, to force the Government to recognise the American pro-slavery rebels; or, failing in that, to drive it from power and bring in another more subservient to the views of the Association.

It has been admitted on all sides, even the *Times* has agreed in it, that recognition means intervention, and intervention means war; and consequently, if this be so, the movement in question is not only designed to reverse the declared policy of the Government, as approved by a large majority in the House of Commons, but to involve the nation in a war that would probably be more disastrous to commercial and industrial pursuits, and to universal morality, than any other on record.

In reference to the address itself, I propose, if time permit, and your space allow, to show at some future period the inaccuracy of its statements and the utter fallaciousness of its arguments. Taking the paragraphs in order, I will show that the assertions in the first are notoriously opposed to the facts; that public opinion has gone in the very contrary direction to that which is affirmed; that the doctrine of independent sovereignties has never obtained the slightest support of American statesmen, and is scouted by all men well informed on the subject. That the Americans from the first attributed the rebellion to the right cause; that their

opinion has never changed, but is, and always has been, in that respect, thoroughly correct.

With respect to the second paragraph, I will show that the assertions are entirely fallacious, and without a particle of force in any one of them ; that the third paragraph distorts and misrepresents all the facts referred to ; that the reasoning in the fourth is altogether absurd, not based upon facts which affect the case, nor drawn from the teachings of history ; and that none but partisans totally ignorant of the subject, would have used such puerile and untruthful arguments.

That the fifth paragraph reveals the influence under which some portion of the persons in these associations act, but that the assertions made and the opinions expressed, are erroneous, and the hopes and expectations held out, entirely delusive.

That the assumption in the sixth paragraph—that the association “ will form a rallying point of all who believe the interest and dignity of Great Britain will be consulted by acknowledging the independence of the rebels,” is in no respect upheld by the sentiments of the people, as manifested at public meetings, and through a highly respectable portion of the press ; but is a libel upon the good sense and honour of the people at large.

That the “ precedents ” named in the seventh paragraph, are in no respect analogous to the American rebellion, and that using these to justify recognition, shows either the weakness of the cause and the paucity of argument in its favour, or the unscrupulousness of the writers, or their entire ignorance of the subject. That the Government of each State was complete for local purposes only, and not for general action, as is here assumed ; that the rebel leaders in forcing their States into secession, violated the constitutions of their own States in the most outrageous manner ; and that since then, they have utterly disregarded all State rights, whenever it has suited their purpose so to do, have trampled upon the rights of their own citizens and soldiers, utterly regardless of anything but that of upholding their own military power, and to such an extent, that one of their own best informed

men has declared in a document, that Jefferson Davis's power "extends no further than the shade of his own army," but that "hate to him is universal."

With respect to the eighth and last paragraph, the attempt to cajole the people of Great Britain into aiding the establishment of a slave empire, by the hope, that when established, and seeing the wickedness of slavery, it would emancipate the slaves, is an insult to common sense. The writers of this address well knew that this doctrine had been abjured and scouted by the rebels themselves, there being no terms too strong for the Richmond writers to apply in derision of those who held the doctrine, and especially towards one of the signers of this document, Mr. Spence, their own paid agent, and who has lost the appointment, probably, in consequence. It would be little less absurd, to pray that Satan might have his way, in order that being appalled at his own wickedness, he would voluntarily, and of his own accord, turn Christian.

The animus of the address may not cause surprise, when it is known that several of the signers are bitter opponents of the Government; that one of them has been the advocate of the rebels from the first, and for a time a paid agent; that another was in complicity with supplying ships to the rebels; that another is editor of a review opposed to liberal government, the virulence and mendacity of which on the American question, from the first, has known no bounds; and another, whose wholesale defamation of the Northerners, whose unfounded assertions and absolute falsehoods with respect to them, disentitle him to associate with gentlemen. But, considering all these facts, no one can fail to be impressed with the feeling, that any one regardful of truth, any liberal reformer of abuses and supporter of a liberal government, who had lent his name to the document, must have been entrapped into it by sinister influences, and can only put himself right before the world, by withdrawing from the association.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 20th, 1864.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—FOR the benefit of those of your readers, if any such there be, who are as ill-informed on American affairs, as Mr. Bromley who writes in your paper to-day, appears to be, I will proceed to answer some of his questions, and to reply to some of his statements.

Question 1. “If President Lincoln and his friends wished to emancipate the slaves, why did they not offer a ransom for their release?”

Answer. President Lincoln two years since offered to the slave States compensation for their slaves, if they would emancipate them. The rebel States rejected the proposition with scorn; the border States took it into consideration. The proposal has been repeated upon several occasions.

Question 2. “If Mr. Lincoln is desirous to free the slaves, why does he not abolish this horrible institution in the Northern States?”

Answer. Slavery had been abolished in all the Northern States, on an average, thirty years before Great Britain abolished it in the West India Islands. Every State that gave its vote for Mr. Lincoln was a free State, without a slave. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, a State most earnest in prosecuting this war against slavery, decreed, some time before the British Courts held the same doctrine, with respect to Great Britain, that every person touching its soil was made free.

Question 3. Is “I. A.” aware, that a leading member of the Government had said, “the struggle is on the one side for supremacy, and the other for independence?”

Answer. This is not a correct quotation of what Earl Russell said, but it will do. All struggles of a Government against rebellion are for supremacy; all struggles of rebels

are for independence. The East Indians rebelled for independence ; the British Government asserted its supremacy, and put them down. The robber, when seized by the police officer, struggles for independence. Therefore, the saying, if true, means little. If the sayings of a member of the Government are infallible, let your readers peruse Mr. Milner Gibson's speech, at Ashton, a day or two since. I would recommend every one to read his remarks on the American contest, and ponder them well.

Mr. Bromley says that "all that the Independence Association would ask of the Government, is to point out to the Federal Administration the folly of carrying on the war." Judging from his defective information on other points, one cannot rely upon the correctness of it with respect to the intentions of the association ; but suppose it is so, is he so inordinately supercilious, as not to perceive that such a course would be most offensive, and the very height of impertinence ? Suppose Mr. Lincoln should send an agent to the Court of St. James, to represent the "folly" of putting down the rebellion in India, or mayhap, the "folly" of not giving the people of Great Britain universal suffrage !

Mr. Bromley says, "the Union can never be established, for the Northerners seem just as far from subduing the rebels as they were two years ago." It is hardly worth replying to the assertions of one so oblivious to all facts. The rebels are not of this opinion. They have lost so much at nearly all points, that they acknowledge themselves to be surrounded by the greatest difficulties. An extent of territory has been entirely wrested from them ten times larger than England. They are hemmed in on every side ; they are reduced to great straits for supplies ; their money is selling in their own markets for one shilling in the pound ; and as one of their own best informed men says, "the influence of Jefferson Davis extends no further than the shade of his army," but that "hatred to him is universal." The rebels can only communicate by stealth with the rest of the world, they have no territory they can call their own.

Mr. Bromley "does not consider slavery as the cause of

the war." In reply to this it is only necessary to say that the rebels say it was, and the Union men say it was, and that these should know. Mr. Seymour will not deny the fact, although to advance his own political views, he will use language that Mr. Bromley may very fairly construe as denying it.

Mr. Bromley asks, "when and where has slavery been abolished by warfare?"

Answer: In the United States of America. The Constitution gave the Government no power to abolish slavery in the slave States before the rebellion, but the rebellion gave that power in the rebel States. The proclamation of President Lincoln abolishes slavery in those States; and although it does not take practical effect where the rebel armies still rule, it is estimated that one million of the four millions of slaves are at this moment absolutely free. In addition to which, the States of Western Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, are taking steps for the entire abolition of slavery in their States; it has been abolished at the seat of Government, and in the forts and territories, and in the army and navy for ever; besides which, the rebel States of Arkansas and Louisiana are organising applications to the American Congress to be re-admitted into the Union as free States; and it is expected that North Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas, will soon follow. This is what the war has done in abolishing slavery. It has killed slavery dead, and will extinguish it throughout the world. What Mr. Seymour wishes is, that these and the other rebel States, may be re-admitted into the Union with their old slavery constitutions, and be protected in holding slaves, and Mr. Seymour is in great favour with the English pro-slavery rebel sympathisers. Mr. Bromley says, "massacre is worse than slavery." Suppose it is, what has that to do with the question? In the first place, it is probably as great a sin in the sight of God to hold a man in slavery, as to massacre men for the purpose of redeeming others from slavery; but in the second place, if Mr. Bromley means to insinuate that President Lincoln, or his armies have massacred persons for that purpose, or have

attempted to encourage it, the insinuation is, to all intents and purposes, false.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 21, 1864.

MR. SCHOLEFIELD'S DEFENCE.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IT would be profitless at the present time to review the arguments advanced last night by our senior Parliamentary Member in defence of his act in joining the "Southern Independence Association." The same arguments, or most of them, have been continuously used by the *Saturday Review*, by Mr. Spence, and other supporters of the rebellion, and have been as continuously refuted; but there are three points in the honourable member's address which require notice, and which indeed, with respect to two of them, even-handed justice to the friends of American slavery abolition, demands. They are as follows, viz. :—

I.—The honourable gentleman's position upon this question.

II.—With respect to the motives of the American Government and the Union party. And

III.—The remarks relating to the New England States.

With respect to the first, the honourable gentleman says, that "he had frankly stated his views on the Southern rebellion at the previous meeting," and he manifested some surprise "that he should now be called to account for joining the Independence Association." Certainly he overlooks the fact that his views were decidedly disapproved at that meeting, by large numbers of his best friends, and that they supposed he was simply expressing a private opinion, and not that he

intended to take active steps to enforce his opinion. However that may be, simply expressing an opinion before his constituents, could hardly be urged as notice of an intention to join a clique, which, for the most part, is opposed to his political principles, in order to force a Government which should have his support, into a course contrary to that decided upon, and which many well-informed men think would involve the nation in a war.

With respect to the second, the honourable gentleman says: "The war in America against the South is not for the purpose of abolishing slavery, but for the preservation of the Union, and therefore British sympathies with respect to the slaves are misplaced." And, further, that "if this be a war for the emancipation of the slaves, it is unjustifiable and unsound, for I say you have no right to force your opinion on any people. If it be morally right to put down slavery in the South, why not go to war with Russia to put down serfdom, with China to put down infanticide, with Spain to put down slavery in Cuba, and with the King of Dahomey to put down slavery in his dominions."

Now, Mr. Lincoln did not make the war, it was made by the rebels. He simply took up arms to maintain the supremacy of the laws, which he, as Chief Magistrate, had sworn to defend. The rebels made war upon the Government for the avowed purpose of establishing slavery more firmly, of extending it more widely, and for the purpose of more surely perpetuating it. The President, in the attempt to suppress the revolt, thwarts these nefarious intentions, and is therefore opposing slavery. At the outset his power was limited, but in the event of a rebellion becoming dangerous, the Constitution had provided what is called a "war power," and this the President exercised. He issued a proclamation emancipating the slaves in States in actual rebellion, unless those States should return to their allegiance within a certain period. This proclamation is now the law of the land, and while the Union armies are contending to sustain the Union, they are also at the same time contending for the maintenance of the proclamation, and consequently are, to

all intents and purposes, fighting to free the slaves, and as much so, as though that had been the original specific object.

Not to understand a difference between the act of a Government in dealing with a rebellion of its own citizens, and with the slaves of those citizens, and the act of intermeddling with the domestic institutions of other nations, evinces an obliquity of perception unlooked for in our honourable member. And can he hold that the British Government would have no right to abolish slavery in Ireland, Scotland, or even in Lancashire? He would "let Canada, or Australia, or Van Dieman's Land go," but would he let Ireland, or Scotland, or Lancashire go? It is in the natural order of events, that the former countries, separated from Great Britain by thousands of miles, should in the course of time become independent; but not so with Lancashire, nor Yorkshire, nor perhaps with Scotland. The American analogy is with these latter, and not with the former, and a case must be weak indeed that finds so lame an argument used in its defence. But whether this present reasoning be sound or unsound; whether the arguments of the honourable member be correct or incorrect; it is morally certain, that while on the one hand the success of the Unionists in the contest will lead to the total and almost immediate abolition of slavery; on the other hand, it is absolutely certain that the success of the rebels, were such an event possible, would establish slavery upon a permanent basis, throughout the whole Southern portion of North America. Therefore, whether the Northerners have arrived at their present antagonism to slavery of their own voluntary free will and action, or by the force of circumstances, is immaterial to the question of which party should command the sympathies of an anti-slavery people? The fact that the Northerners had, all of them, abolished slavery in their own States years and years ago (many of them long before the honourable member was born), and that they had propagated anti-slavery doctrines amongst the people of the United States so effectually as to be able to elect an anti-slavery President, in opposi-

tion to the united South combined with the pro-rebel sympathisers amongst themselves, should be received as satisfactory evidence of their sincerity in professing a desire to abolish it.

With respect to the third point, the honourable gentleman says: "In the year 1814 there was a secession of the New England States. In that year the New England States being opposed to the war, not only seceded, but raised a flag of their own;" and he adds, "I am speaking of facts which are history." The honourable gentleman is misinformed; nothing of the kind occurred. There was no secession, nor any hoisting of a rebel flag. I was on the spot at the time, deeply interested, and cognisant of all the facts, which were these: the Federal party, a powerful minority, had been opposed to the war from the first. The war was, in fact, declared simply by the casting vote of the Speaker of the Senate. After it had been continued for two years, or more, with no defined object, and with no important result, save some brilliant victories on the sea, and on the lakes, this party in New England, fearing great disasters to the nation unless a different line of policy were pursued, resolved to hold a convention of delegates in Hartford, Connecticut, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the nation, and to advise with respect to the course that ought to be pursued. Before the convention had proceeded to business, tidings of the treaty of peace came, which rendered any further discussions unnecessary, and the members at once returned to their own homes. Although the object of the convention was patriotic; although it meditated neither rebellion nor secession; yet it incurred great obloquy, inasmuch as it was a combination to influence the action of the people's representatives in Congress; and by none was it condemned more than by the slaveholding interest, which has in this rebellion absurdly pretended to the right of secession.

The New England people have been continually outraged by the legislation of the slave oligarchy, but have never wavered in the support of the Constitution and of the Union, to establish which they had suffered so much. Massachusetts

alone furnished above 60,000 soldiers to the War of Independence; while this miserable State of South Carolina, which has created all the present difficulty, pretending to an "original Sovereignty," furnished little over 6,000! The men of Massachusetts, and other Northern men, conquered for South Carolina its independence, and made it a State; and not for the purpose of giving its people a right in the soil that would enable them to transfer it to France, or Spain, or to establish upon it a Government of their own; but for the purpose of holding it in trust for the good of the nation; in the same way, and moreover, by the self-same law, that the landed proprietors of England hold the soil in trust from the Crown, for the good of the kingdom, and not for the purpose of establishing upon it Governments independent of the Crown; nor for the purpose of making it over to any foreign potentate.

The honourable member will thus see, that his speech of last year was not a notice of his intention, nor a sufficient plea for the act of joining the Southern Association; that the President of the United States and the Union party, do not claim the sympathies of anti-slavery Englishmen on the pretence that they resisted the rebels in the first instance for the purpose of abolishing slavery where it then existed, but that they do claim their sympathies, and must and will have the sympathies of every sincere opponent of slavery; for that they, in the first place, resisted the extension of slavery, and now, in the second place, fight to uphold the proclamation, which emancipates the slaves in most of the States, and which will most assuredly lead to total abolition in the remaining States where slavery still exists; and he will also see that his statement with respect to the New England States seceding was incorrect.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 26th, 1864.

"WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THE BLACK MAN?"

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—“WHAT is to be done with the the black man?”
Why ask the question? Why not ask what shall be done
with the white man?

*Extract of a letter from a young Lady of Boston, U.S., to a
Lady Friend, of Edgbaston.*

“WE are much interested in the ‘Freedmen’s Aid Societies,’ and find our work very encouraging. The black children make so rapid progress in learning, that the teachers we send them are delighted, and the adults prove more industrious and enterprising than we had dared to hope. The great work of civilising and educating this whole race, and delivering them from their bondage of body, mind, and soul, begins most cheerfully, and by the time we get them fairly in hand, we shall have conquered the rebels, and be ready to begin our missionary work with the ‘poor whites,’ to say nothing of the ‘chivalry’ themselves, many of whom, to judge from recent revelations, must need enlightening as much as the blacks. Is not this triple scheme the greatest that ever our Yankee imagination has conceived? Creating an army and navy, and conquering this vast rebellion, emancipating a race and starting them in a life of self-supporting industry, and then enlightening the white masses of the South! And yet, thanks not to us, but to the over-ruling Providence which has opened the way before us, as we advanced step by step, all these great works are making progress. Already in New Orleans, that former stronghold of slavery, evening meetings for expounding the Constitution,

and proving the advantages of free labour are largely attended. Already the Emigrant Aid Society is talking of sending white colonists to Florida; already Northern men are entering into the cultivation of cotton; already has the oath of a black man, formerly a slave, been admitted as evidence in a civil case in a Provost Court in Virginia! So, 'the great crisis' passes on, and our country is not 'lost, but saved!'"

These are the words of the sterling women of the North, and these are the cruelties that the "merciless tyrants of the North" are about to inflict upon the people of the South!

This stern philanthropic feeling, which is becoming universal with the women of the free States, young as well as older, contrasts strongly with the frivolity that is often met with amongst the pro-rebel sympathisers in Europe, a fair sample of which will be found in the following extract from an *Englishwoman's Journal*, recently published:—

"'Why are you such a decided partisan of the South?' I asked a pleasant, well-bred English lady, whom I met travelling abroad a few months ago. Miss D.: 'Oh, because I know so many pleasant people who are Southerners. Didn't you know Mrs. Y., at Rome?' 'Yes, and she was a merry, elegant creature; but why do you think slavery right?' Miss D.: 'Oh, you see, I have never met any Northerners I liked at all, and I do so like the real Southerners of family; they are charming!' 'And so because you liked pretty Mrs. Y., and five or six other people from the South, you uphold that slavery is right?' Miss D.: 'Why yes, you see it can't be so bad; and I have not thought much about it, and I know I hate the Abolitionists, and I do admire Stonewall Jackson.' Amusing and melancholy to hear an intelligent being, thirty-five years of age, born with every advantage of influence, money, and position, upholding that four millions of people, because they have darker skins and tenderer natures than some of us, should be property like sheep and cattle. You will say, perhaps, that her opinions do not matter, and I am sure she did not think they did in the

least ; but I say her opinions, and your opinions, and all our opinions, do signify. For whatsoever we do, and do not do, depends on what opinions we hold, and there is nothing more humiliating than the indifference of women to their opinions, and the small value they set upon their own influence." The writer might have added that where this indifference is shown extensively, society soon becomes demoralised.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February 11th, 1864.

CAN STATES SECEDE ?

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—A CORRESPONDENT in your Monday's number asks, whether the Union of the American States is to be perpetual ? or whether there are no means by which States, wishing to secede, may peaceably do so ? The reply is, that the American Union is not, literally speaking, a compact of States, but a league of the whole people, each covenanting with the others, entered into and confirmed by a vote under nearly universal suffrage ; which mode was adopted for the especial purpose of preventing, in all time, the assumption that it was a compact of States. Therefore, this Union can only be dissolved by the modes pointed out in the Constitution. It was intended to be perpetual. Various modes are pointed out in the Constitution by which its provisions can be amended, or annulled ; and through these constitutional modes, the whole agreement may be vacated and the Union dissolved.

The rebels adopted none of these modes. They did not even ask to be allowed to go out. Neither did they observe

any of the forms prescribed by their own State Constitutions for effecting changes, but violated them in their most essential and vital characteristics; and not only so, but their leaders coerced their own people into rebellion by threats and open violence. The soil of the rebel States is whitened by the bones of its own citizens, put to death for not joining in the rebellion. The rebels made war upon the Government by seizing its forts, ships, and property in all directions; blockading its rivers, and finally, in assaulting Fort Sumpter, for the especial purpose, and for no other purpose, than that of beginning a war; it having but eighty men opposed to 7,000, and a supply of but forty-eight hours' provisions, as was known and acknowledged. All this time the Government had not lifted a finger, and for the reasons, if the *Times* and other English journals of the period were to be believed, that "the Government was pusillanimous," that it was "no Government," but "a rope of sand, tumbling to pieces;" for that "the Northerners had no spirit and no patriotism," being "intent only upon making dollars." These spiritless sheep, quietly dwelling in their own pastures, and thus suddenly attacked by wolves, are now held to be, by the same veracious journals, and other sympathisers with the pro-slavery rebels, something little less than devils incarnate, "making war upon an inoffensive, weak neighbour, struggling to be free!" Such an insufferable prostitution of language fails to excite so respectable a sensation as that of indignation. The dose is too strong; it turns upon the stomach and becomes an emetic, relieving the system, and preventing further annoyance.

Your correspondent claims that the Union was "a partnership." Did he ever hear of a partnership that was not subject to its own conditions? Does he know of any agreement, whereby any of the parties to the agreement are empowered to break it up and annul it, when and how they please?

The slave autocrats had not even the right of rebellion; rebellion cannot be justified except by ample cause. They had no cause; they never pretended they had any cause,

except in the growing antipathy of the North to slavery, which threatened, as the slaveholders asserted, one day, to destroy it.

A woman, in an extreme case, may separate from her husband, and the law will grant her a divorce; but she may not separate because of being apprehensive that the husband intends to enforce in his house a too strict code of morality; nor the more especially may she leave him for the purpose of turning a portion of the house and the neighbouring house into a public nuisance, offensive to him and his family, and to public decency; a case that would be almost exactly analogous to that of the pro-slavery rebellion.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February 11th, 1864.

MR. RUSSELL AND GENERAL McCLELLAN.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

"They manage these things differently in Flanders."

SIR,—WHEN Mr. Russell was refused permission to accompany General McClellan's army to the Yorktown peninsula, he wrote in very angry terms with reference to it; and the *Times*, and other pro-slavery rebel papers, represented it as an unpardonable act of democratic tyranny; whereas, it was no more tyrannical, no more unjustifiable, than the daily denial to persons of the privilege of passing through Woolwich Arsenal.

The prints referred to, made all England believe that Mr. Russell was expelled from America. Nine persons out of ten believe it to this day; even you, within these few days, have spoken of Mr. Russell's expulsion from America; the fact being that he was left at liberty to go where he pleased,

and to write what he pleased, with the single exception of accompanying McClellan's army, an exception that equally applied to the correspondents of American newspapers. From the censure that was so unsparingly bestowed upon the American Executive, and the great outcry that was raised, it was to be presumed that under similar circumstances, away from "democratic tyranny," and democratic influences, a very different course would be pursued towards army correspondents. It was even surmised that they might be shown the private instructions of commanding generals, and demand to know the intended plans of campaigns. These pleasing expectations seem doomed to be disappointed. "They manage these things differently near Flanders." Four thousand miles away from the democratic tyrants (who, by the way, are about bestowing the elective franchise on the negroes), they do things in a truly *imperial* way. It seems that a correspondent of the *Patrie*, M. d'Arnoult, who "went to Kiel to examine some ruins, was seized by the Prussians, sent through the snow outside of a gun wagon, first to Schleswig, and then to Gottorp, and from thence, by express orders of General Wrangel, to Flensburg, in an open carriage, at the cost of bronchitis and frost-bitten feet, and then kept four days in prison, lying on straw, with nothing but a blanket to cover him."

Seeing that thirty-five millions of "Imperial Legitimists" are engaged in the arduous business of wresting a few acres of bog, from about one-twentieth of their number, whilst the Americans were only contending for national existence against rebels having four hundred thousand men in arms, perhaps the pro-rebel sympathisers may contend, that Mr. Russell's case is the worst of the two! Of course they will; it will be a fair sample of their truth and justice.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February 23rd, 1864.

THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WHATEVER bias may prevail with readers of newspapers, with reference to subjects discussed therein, their main desire must be to arrive at truth. Views which tally with one's wishes may be agreeable for the moment, but when these are found to be illusory, disappointment more than outweighs the previous satisfaction, and disgust with the false teachers is the natural consequence. The *Times* even, with all its pride of position, begins to see that no prestige, no monopoly of public opinion, can successfully repel the disgrace that attaches to a persistent course of misrepresentation, and consequently, true to the only reliable trait in its conduct, self-interest, is modifying its course in relation to American affairs, leaving that part of its programme to the *Telegraph*, which takes up the discarded occupation with the eagerness that the small dog seizes the bone thrown down by the huge mastiff.

With respect to the recent military movements in America, many of the English papers, and some of the American, have represented them to be the opening of the spring campaign, and failures. Now, taking all the facts into consideration, it will be found that they are, properly speaking, neither the one, nor the other. There is no reason to suppose that any general permanent forward movement was intended. General Grant and General Meade were away from their armies; many of the old regiments had gone home on furlough, and at last accounts were returning with the new recruits, increasing the armies at the rate of two thousand a day. Moreover, the roads were still unsettled, and would not be in a state to be relied upon, for weeks to come; and, finally, preparations for the spring

campaign were otherwise, by no means complete. The great object of the movements seem to have been to break up the rebel lines of communication, to destroy their supplies, and to remove Longstreet from East Tennessee; which objects have been to a great extent accomplished, and are of much greater value than that of simply winning battles. The movement of General Smith from Memphis, of Sherman from Vicksburg, of Kilpatrick upon Richmond, have resulted in the destruction of roads and stores to an extent that will greatly distress the rebels, and materially weaken the effectiveness of their armies; while the movements of Thomas from Chattanooga upon Dalton, and of Schofield from Knoxville, have forced Longstreet to abandon his intentions upon the latter place, and probably to evacuate East Tennessee altogether; thus abandoning a line of communications that has been regarded by the rebels heretofore as indispensable to their holding Richmond, and even any portion of Virginia. These movements of Sherman and Kilpatrick, have been much more brilliant, and of vastly more importance than the vaunted raids of the rebel cavalry some one or two years ago. And what is the cause of the present boast of our pro-slavery rebel papers? Why that Sherman has not marched three hundred miles through rebel territory, beforetime deemed impervious to Union armies, and captured Mobile; that Thomas, in advancing upon Johnstone, has simply made a demonstration and fallen back; and that Kilpatrick has not captured Richmond! while but a short time since these same sagacious prints were boasting that Sherman was to be attacked in his stronghold at Vicksburg; Smith to be assaulted by Polk at Memphis; Thomas to be utterly destroyed at Chattanooga; Knoxville to be captured by Longstreet; the whole of Tennessee to be in rebel possession, and at the same time Maryland and Pennsylvania were to be invaded by the rebels. By contrasting the difference between the present condition of the contending parties, and that which was thus promised, or, even with that which existed three months ago, the vast progress of the Union arms becomes apparent, and this

difference is in no wise diminished by the result of the recent movements not being so great as some sanguine persons had been led to expect.

The Government has also been strengthened recently in several important points, in which the American Copperheads, *alias* the aspirants to office through the "Union with slavery as it was," and their English sympathisers, boasted they would fail. These points are the re-enlistment of about all the old troops, together with large accessions to the armies of fresh recruits; the continued stability of the Government credit and the free and full subscriptions to the loans; the large majority in the State of New York in favour of permitting its citizens in the armies to vote, which throws this State of nearly four millions of people into hearty support of the Government; and lastly, the election in New Hampshire, which ensures to the Government the earnest support of the only other free State that the Copperhead rebels hoped to bring into their views. It may also be considered a favourable circumstance that General Grant has been appointed to the head of the armies, for besides bringing his talent to act in its most effective position, it will no doubt occasion a unity of action that will cause the great power of the Federal Government to be brought to bear upon the rebellion with irresistible and overwhelming effect.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

March 23, 1864.

THE WAR IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent “Avis,” in to-day’s paper, has, “by writing to America, ascertained satisfactorily that emigrants and countrymen are made drunk, or drugged, and sent to Riker’s Island, to be transferred from thence as substitutes to the Northern army, a business that is done by substitute brokers,” and adds, “the people wink at it and the Government winks at it, because soldiers are wanted.” He further says, “my sympathies are with the North, and I should be very sorry to say a single word to injure the American people or their Government; but it is my duty to lay the facts before my neighbours.”

Giving full credit to your correspondent for sympathy with the North, which evinces on his part sound judgment, he must allow me to say that assertions damaging to the good name of a people, or Government, are often more injurious than material inflictions; for although nations have heretofore been guilty of the grossest outrages, and have still held up their heads with the assumption of respectability, the time is coming, and may be close at hand, when intentional injustice done by a nation, will be more injurious to it than the loss of provinces, and will be an indelible blot in the page of its history; and also to say, that his assertion, that the people and the Government wink at the outrages complained of, which if true, would be of this damaging character, is altogether and entirely erroneous.

There is in New York a class of pimps, now styled “bounty brokers,” who have sought out the unwary, whether foreigners or natives (the term “countrymen” used in the quotation, means natives from the interior), and have procured their enlistment, cheating them in most cases out of a portion of the bounty money. Their impositions upon

the people, and upon the Government, have been fully exposed by the New York press, and their course has excited universal indignation ; but still it has been difficult to bring them to justice. At the last accounts the authorities had succeeded in convicting one of the scoundrels, named James B. Cork, and he would probably be sentenced to ten years in the Penitentiary. Any one acquainted with the measures taken by the citizens of New York, during the last twenty years or more, to supply the wants of emigrants, to relieve their sufferings, and to place them at once, where their labour properly exercised, would secure sufficiency and ultimately independency, must admit their untiring generosity and philanthropy. In fact, in these characteristics, they are not excelled by any people under the sun.

The American Government is especially anxious to deal justly with all men and all nations. Its acts in the present contest are before the world and minutely criticised ; and while ridding the country of a monstrous stain ; while endeavouring to raise the blacks from their degraded position, and in some measure to atone for the grievous wrong done to this race, it is careful to avoid injustice to others. Especially is it desirous not to give umbrage to Great Britain, knowing that its enemies both at home and abroad, are untiring in their intrigues to bring about a rupture between the two nations, in the hope that it would enable the rebels to establish a slave empire.

Moreover, there is no subject of Great Britain, so completely denationalised, as not to understand the potency of the British name ; and if any such subject has been entrapped into the Federal service, he knows that he has but to appeal to his commanding officer, or if that is not effective, to the British Consul or Minister, (this way being always open,) in order to obtain immediate redress. I confidently assert, that there is not a single British subject held in the Federal armies against his will, unless there through his own free and voluntary act. And I further assert, that during the whole war, not one man has been enlisted in Great Britain, or Ireland, for the American army, with the knowledge or con-

sent of the American Government, or with its connivance in any way, directly or indirectly ; the truth of which may be satisfactorily proved in a court constituted for the purpose.

There are designing rogues in all countries, but emigrants to America, have most to guard against their own countrymen. These fraternise with the new comers, pretend to sympathise with them, warn them of the impositions that will be practised upon them, and finally, in many instances, succeed in robbing them of whatever little money or property they may have brought with them.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 2nd, 1864.

GREENBACKS AND AMERICAN IMPOSITIONS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—THE “Holder of Greenbacks” is to be envied; happy is the man who has a store of them. This holder may rest assured that among the old countrymen in America, both “rogues and their dupes,” are plentiful. Why should it not be so? A small amount of historic knowledge would convince him of the fact. If any there be who attempt to induce us to “believe in broken promises,” they must have but a poor opinion of our intelligence; but that opinion may be sound, if we consider “61 per cent. premium equivalent to 61 per cent. discount.”

The friend who is “made to pay gold by a will,” is no doubt provided by that will, with the means; therefore, it is no hardship upon him. He who by “will,” receives greenbacks, is a lucky person; if he finds it a grievance, numbers stand ready to relieve him of the obligation. That he, and

many others, do not receive their legacies in gold, is a penalty they pay to the rebellion. The Government is not to blame for it. Let him and all others, strive to shorten the hardship, by assisting to put down the rebellion. Mr. Gladstone does not propose taxes for the pleasure of the Executive, nor, that Rothschild may deal in stocks. Taxes are a penalty paid by the people for supporting their nationality. To accuse the American Government of a design to depreciate its own money, when all its interests are in favour of appreciation, is as foolish as the proposal of the man to burn the bank notes, in order to spite the bank.

That the Americans are *fond* of "being deluded," and of having "their property confiscated," is shown by the fact that they rush in and take up the Government stocks daily by the million; indeed, old countrymen begin to partake of this insanity; having become impatient for the stocks to come to them, they are rushing after the stocks. That emigrants are "ill-paid" and "imposed upon," is evinced by the fact that ships cannot be found sufficient to carry out all who wish to flee to this land of impositions. That soldiers are "ill-paid and ill-treated," is shown by the fact that half a million joined the army voluntarily during the past year, and that about all the three years' men, whose term is expiring this year, have re-enlisted. It is a pleasant thing to learn that the Americans, in this war for their nationality, this war for the rights of man, have been so blessed in their efforts, that it has "cost them no sacrifice;" that the barrel of meal has not wasted, nor the cruse of oil failed. We had been assured by our pro-slavery critics, that the deluded North, had sacrificed its sons by hundreds of thousands, and its substance by thousands of millions, and was on the verge of ruin. These writers, with their rebel instigators, had proclaimed that "utter destruction awaited the North;" that all its labourers "would be thrown out of employment," and that "grass would grow in its streets;" while the blessed land of slavery, would be "a paradise of prosperity." It is inexcusably audacious in the North, to refuse to be ruined; to eat, and drink, and get gain, while fighting!

Yankee invention may possibly turn war into a pastime! this now appears to be the fear of their foreign guardians. They fight and prosper; while their Southern defamers, the vile miscreants who made this wicked war, are the picture of misery and despair. Will it not be well for persons who propose to write on these matters, to first inform themselves? otherwise their attempt may simply sink them deeper and deeper in the mire of their own absurdities.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 20th, 1864.

PEEL'S BILL VERSUS GREENBACKS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent, "who knows almost all the States of the Union," assumes, without justification, that I hold certain opinions, and also makes a substantive assertion altogether opposed to indisputable evidence.

In my writings on political economy, continued through a period of forty years, the injustice done by Mr. Peel's bill in appreciating the value of money, thereby adding to the obligations of the debtor class and to the wealth of the creditor class, is continuously proclaimed and denounced; and as there is nothing in my communication, kindly inserted in your paper, evincing a contrary opinion, it cannot logically be inferred that I imagine that an opposite course in America would not have upon American obligations an opposite effect. It is not necessary to the argument to observe, but still it may be observed, that the vast difference between the two cases is, that the former act was uncalled for, was the result of class legislation, was especially calculated to benefit the class to which the legislators belonged, •

to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer, and was opposed to the best interests of the nation; while in the latter case, the act of increasing the circulating medium by the issue of Government notes, was indispensable, was demanded by the almost unanimous voice of the people, and is mainly approved by both the debtor and creditor classes, who understand its present effect, and its future tendencies, better than any foreign critics can tell them.

With respect to the assumption that "the supporters of the Republican programme are diminishing," it is directly opposed to fact. Elections have taken place in all the free States and in several of the slave States during the last six months, and in every one of them there has been a vast increase in favour of Radical-Republican measures; and in every State but one, an overwhelming majority in favour of those measures, and in favour of the Government which supports those measures. Also, during this period, four slave States have either abolished slavery, or have adopted measures for its abolition. The Congress has, by a three-fourths vote in the Senate, and a more than two-thirds vote in the house, decided to amend the constitution, (three-fourths of the States concurring,) by the insertion of a clause prohibiting slavery for ever; and it is confidently expected that twenty-nine out of the thirty-eight States will agree to it. Therefore, in the face of these circumstances, which are notorious to every one entitled to give an opinion on the subject, the assumption that the supporters of the Republican programme "are diminishing," is a wanton disregard of facts.

Your correspondent has no right to infer from anything I have written, that my mind is "narrowed down to an affection for New England." I hold that the man is to be despised whose sympathies are bounded by territorial lines, and that the sentiment, "our country, right or wrong," however popular, cannot be sustained. The New Englanders, taken in the mass, are probably unsurpassed by any other people; but approving their conduct in this war, or in giving them aid and comfort, one is not evincing a partiality for them, inasmuch as that the cause for which they are fighting, is that

of universal humanity. They fight to put down a rebellion against the rights of man; a rebellion to enslave both black and white. They fight to maintain the dignity of labour, and to preserve to the working classes the right to representation. They fight to redeem the African from a wrong that calls down the vengeance of Heaven upon all who have contributed to it; their battle is especially that of the working classes, and of the oppressed of all nations.

With respect to "foreign investments in American stocks," it is certain they have been large during the last six months; and it is doing the English community no injustice to suppose, it may have had a share in these investments, however injudicious the act may be; for a community that embraces persons who subscribe to the rebel loan, undoubtedly embraces those that will subscribe to anything.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 28th, 1864.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IF the emancipated slaves in the West Indies are idle, unfaithful, and destitute of ambition to improve their position, it is to be inferred that there is some especial and exceptional cause for it. Experience in the American States has produced precisely opposite testimony. In the West Indies, it is to be presumed, the blacks have been dealt with by their old masters who have not yet shaken off their slaveholding feelings and practices, who are yet unwilling to concede equal rights, full pay, and that generous treatment, which creates respect, confidence, and attachment, to those who were formerly their slaves. It is in the nature of

things, looking to antecedents, that it should be so ; and for the shortcomings of the blacks, whatever they may be, there can hardly be a doubt that the masters themselves are mainly accountable.

The "freedmen" in the States, are willing to work ; they are desirous of being taught ; they are ambitious to improve their position. This is the universal testimony. They have been dealt with, it is true, by persons kindly disposed towards them, and who have never held slaves. These have found kind treatment thoroughly appreciated and heartily returned.

The blacks in the free States have always been willing to work. They have been as industrious and painstaking, as any other class of persons in a similar position, while the faithfulness of an old negro servant has been proverbial. They have, in fact, behaved better, and have exhibited more Christian virtues, than ever the whites did under like aggravating circumstances. Will any one attempt to contradict this assertion ? And if not, is it not time for the whites to cease prating of their superiority to the black ? Nor, is there any reason to suppose that the blacks of the South are in any respect inferior to those of the North. They are as hard workers, and as fond of fine clothes, and of seeing their wives and children dressed "smart." They regard the ability to read and write, as high accomplishments, and are ambitious that their children should acquire those accomplishments. .†

Your correspondent on this subject, recommends "gradual emancipation," "an apprenticeship," &c. It is a sufficient reply to this suggestion, or to this plan, often proposed, to say that it is simply impossible, for the reason that those who have the power to work it out, instead of being willing to move in this direction, have rebelled against their own Government, their own nationality, against everything they had a right to be proud of, for the sole purpose of extending and perpetuating the institution. It might be urged with as good prospect of success, that the way to Christianise India, is for the Brahmins to preach the Gospel.

This being so, there is no way left but to put down the rebel slaveowners, and to abolish slavery at once and for ever. There is no reason to fear the result. None oppose the mode but those who hope by some hocus-pocus to obtain an extended lease of slavery. That fact, in itself, is a sufficient argument for immediate abolition. When abolition is accomplished and the rebellion put down, there will be a new race of landowners and employers of labour in the present slave States. Emigrants will rush in from the North, and from Europe; labour will be in request, the blacks will have equal rights with the whites; many of them will become landholders; this will stimulate others, and having, as before said, always behaved better than the whites under like aggravations, it is fair to suppose that under more favourable circumstances they will conduct themselves equally well, and instead of detracting from the standard of the society to which they are admitted, will contribute to its elevation. Providence appears to will that it should be so, and faith in the result will go far to ensure it.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 17, 1864.



THE SITUATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—AFTER six days' continuous and terrific fighting, exceeding, by the admission of the *Times*, anything that has occurred in the modern history of Europe, Grant, beating back Lee twenty miles, stood confronted with him. Both had suffered greatly, and by the accounts which came up to the 10th, it appeared doubtful, which would gain the next advantage.

It now seems, that on the 12th, Grant attacked Lee vigorously, took 4,000 prisoners, and thirty cannon, and that on the 13th Lee again retreated.

In this state of the case the following things are to be observed :—

1. Whatever Grant's losses are, Lee's are no doubt equal, and Lee can less afford to lose ; he cannot replace them ; Grant can.

2. Large reinforcements were going forward to Grant.

3. The railway between Lee and Richmond is cut.

4. Sigel, with 40,000 men, had come up the Shenandoah Valley, and "destroyed Gordonsville, Charlottesville, and Lynchburgh ;" thus severing the Virginia Central Railway, and cutting off supplies by that road.

5. Butler is investing Richmond on the south, and has cut off the Petersburg Railway.

6. There is but one other road, viz., the Danville Road, by which Richmond can be supplied ; and a force can readily be sent to break that up.

7. Richmond, at last dates before the battle, was so short supplied that persons were literally starving.

8. Should Lee get to Richmond, his army cannot be subsisted there, nor can it retreat to supplies.

9. Lee should, by all the chances of war, have to capitulate, before, or after getting to Richmond.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 25th, 1864.



THE KEARSARGE AND ALABAMA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—So many misrepresentations have been made with respect to these vessels, all tending to disparage the exploit

of the former, in sinking the latter, I have taken pains to obtain from the best sources an accurate description of each, and I believe the following may be relied upon :

KEARSARGE.

Rated in the navy list 1,031 tons. Seven guns, six of them 32-pounders; one 200-pounder smooth bore; 150 men; fastest speed, thirteen knots. The *Times* stated in one article, that she carried ten 200-pounders, or eleven-inch guns. They write from Cherbourg that she had but seven guns.

ALABAMA.

1,040 tons; eight guns, six of them 32-pounders; one 100-pounder rifled gun; one 150-pounder smooth bore; 147 men; by some said 130 men; speed, said to have been at fastest, nineteen knots.

Prior to the battle, the Alabama had been held to be as good a ship as the Lairds could turn out, with "a first-rate crew," many of them "trained in the English naval service," and the ship able to cope with any of its size on the ocean; indeed, it had been boasted that she could beat any ship in the American navy; whereas, the Kearsarge was simply an ordinary wooden sloop of war, not iron-plated, nor made for any especial service. The two vessels were as nearly matched as needs be, the Alabama having the advantage in speed and weight of metal; and that she had men enough, is shown by the fact that her guns were fired many more times, than those of her opponent. In a short time she was cut up and sent to the bottom, while the Kearsarge was hardly scratched, had but three men wounded, and none killed, a result owing entirely to her being better handled, and the guns better served.

Captain Semmes says, the Kearsarge had "chains slung over her sides amidships." This, if true, was a very proper precaution, and if he did not adopt a similar precaution, he obviously neglected his duty.

It is stated that Captain Semmes was under no necessity to show his pluck by assailing the Kearsarge, "*that* having been proved in his attack and capture of the American steamboat Hatteras." He will hardly thank his panegyrists for bringing this before the public. The Hatteras was an ordinary side-wheel passenger boat, improvised into a war vessel by putting a few guns on board, for the purpose of catching blockade runners. The Alabama was a match for half-a-dozen such vessels. Having appeared off Galveston, in the character of a blockade runner, she lured the Hatteras out, continuing the decoy until dusk, sailing under English colours all the time, and upon the latter vessel coming alongside, and hailing what ship is that? answered "her Majesty's ship Petrel," at the same moment pouring into the frail Hatteras a broadside which soon sent her to the bottom. It is hardly necessary to say, that an officer in her Majesty's service guilty of such a proceeding, would be immediately cashiered.

The fact is that Captain Semmes thought to finish a career which had not raised him in the estimation of any honourable man, by capturing an American man-of-war; *but "didn't;"* the "Avenger" had come! and the Alabama lies at the bottom of the ocean. Mr. Laird should now go to America and learn how to build a ship, and while there, *had better enlist a crew.*

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 24th, 1864.

THE following by the same writer, appeared in the London DAILY NEWS.

THE DEERHOUND.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—MR. Lancaster, in a long and elaborate letter inserted in your paper of to-day, endeavours to show that his action, in saving Captain Semmes and others, was dictated solely by motives of humanity. This may be so, and he may be in his own opinion a most humane person; but I will endeavour to show from his own letter, that his standard of humanity is very different from that generally held in estimation.

In the first place, he says, when requested by Captain Winslow, of the Kearsarge, to assist in saving the drowning crew of the Alabama, "he had no suspicion that he would be required to deliver up the persons he might save, otherwise he would not have gone to their relief;" that is to say, he would have seen them all drowned first. This may be a kind of humanity adapted to his own private prejudices, but which the drowning men would probably have styled barbarism. But if he had no suspicion that the rescued persons would be demanded of him, how was it that he hurried away as soon as he had secured Captain Semmes and a few others, "expecting a shot across his bows," as stated in his original letter? In that letter, written before the legality of the act had been called in question, he would make it appear, that in running with Captain Semmes from under the guns of the Kearsarge, he acted the part of a bold Briton.

Secondly. Having picked up Captain Semmes and one or two others, together with a boat's crew that was in no danger, it appears he steamed away as rapidly as possible, leaving some eighty persons floundering in the water,

although the movements of the Kearsarge, according to his own account, "were tardy." Does he call that humane? and would not an officer in her Majesty's service be cashiered for so acting? Of the persons left to their fate by Mr. Lancaster, it seems that the Kearsarge rescued about sixty-eight, and that about fifteen were drowned. Now, I wish also to ask Mr. Lancaster, whether the officers and men who came on board his vessel from a boat, did not desert that boat, and leave their drowning companions to their fate, and whether these officers and Captain Semmes, did not solicit him to steer rapidly away, "lest they should be claimed by Captain Winslow," although the aforesaid eighty men were struggling for their lives? and further, whether he thinks that any honourable, humane man would have made that request, or whether any honourable, humane man would have complied with it? The surgeon of the Alabama, a noble Englishman, sacrificed his life to save a wounded sailor; but Captain Semmes, to save his own person from imprisonment, leaves eighty of his own men, who he declares were willing to live or to die with him, to be drowned! and Mr. Lancaster considers it humane to comply with the request.

Thirdly. Mr. Lancaster says he would sooner have left the men to their fate, than have been the means of putting them on board the Kearsarge, to be subject to the ill treatment, or something worse, of Captain Winslow. Now this decision he should at least have left to the drowning men, giving them their choice; but what right has he to assume that Captain Winslow would have treated his prisoners harshly? impugning, without any cause, the character of the commander of an American ship of war, a man belonging to a profession, than which a more honourable does not exist. If Mr. Lancaster, before sailing under royal colours, had served in the Royal Navy, he would have become acquainted with a code of honour and of humanity, to which he at present appears to be a stranger. Moreover, if he thought the rescued men "would be subject to such ill treatment on board the Kearsarge," and "had no suspicion that the men

saved by him would be claimed," how was it that he did not attempt to save the eighty that were swimming for their lives, and not run away, leaving them to drown, or to be picked up by the Kearsarge and be subjected to this ill treatment?

HUMANITAS.

June 29th, 1864.

THE IRISH IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IT was stated in Parliament a few evenings since, that there were thirty thousand Irish female emigrants in the streets of New York, begging, or procuring a living through more disreputable means, owing to a want of demand for their labour, and to their receiving no assistance from their male relatives who had been forced into the army.

In his eagerness to make out a case, and also in his willingness to damage America, the speaker failed to perceive that his statements, if true, were utterly damnatory of the antecedents of these emigrants, and would fix an indelible stain upon the country from which they came, and upon the nation which had nurtured them. Whatever means may have been taken to induce the Irish to enlist in the army, none deny that they have for the most part received high bounties, and universally large pay, with full rations, and consequently if they have withheld all aid from their female relatives, and left them to starve, as represented, they must certainly be ranked no higher than brutes; while it is equally certain that women who turn out *en masse* to pursue the vocation alluded to, must have been reared in gross immorality, and that a nation, poisoning the world with such a progeny, might be rightly indicted by Christian communities as a gross nuisance.

Happily, however, for all parties, the statements are not true. They are a libel on England and Ireland; nor need America complain of them, for those who uphold writers who charge their own Government with being "a Government of the assassins of Europe," can hardly say anything that will damage any one.

That there are Irishmen who neglect all moral and domestic duties, need not be denied; but when the fact announced by the Emigration Commissioners, that the Irish in America had sent to their friends in Ireland, during the year 1863, the sum of £463,000, is considered; no one will credit the assertion that any considerable portion of those in the army, withhold assistance from their female relatives. If the persons who make these charges, would oftener imitate the poor Irish in personal sacrifices, their class of society would be greatly improved.

Nor need it be denied that there are Irishwomen in New York, following vicious courses; but if there be a larger proportion than of other nations, it is owing to their antecedents, and to a larger number being suddenly thrown upon the city; for neither of which circumstances, are they so blameable, as the nation, or the rulers of the nation, from which they come. Moreover, with respect to the necessity for begging, it may be stated that the voluntary contributions in America for the relief of soldiers and their families, since the commencement of the rebellion, are said to amount to the enormous sum of more than £30,000,000 sterling, a small appropriation from which would prevent that necessity, and none deny that these contributions have been fairly and judiciously appropriated. Further, female servants find full employment in New York, at high wages and free board, and live more luxuriously than three-fourths of the heads of families in Ireland.

While I am writing, I have received a letter from New York, a portion of which is so exceedingly applicable to the subject under consideration, it may be advantageously given here. The letter is from a well-educated, well-informed young man, who left New York at the age of fifteen, and

had resided ten years in France and Italy, including a short time in England; and consequently he may be supposed to have rather a European bias; but, however that may be, he had no possible inducement to write anything on the subject to me, but what he supposed to be true. The following is the extract, viz.:—

“New York, June 8, . . .—I have been here more than three months. Before my arrival, I had some misgivings respecting the draft, but I soon found that the demands of the Government were quickly answered, and that there were as many men to be had for greenbacks as the country might wish. I found soldiers on every train, in every station, in every steamboat; all jolly, gay, and well cared for. They were on their way South; many of them are killed ere this, but the majority are within a few miles of Richmond, and it is believed will occupy that place in a few weeks.

“The necessaries of life are high, but the price of labour is in proportion, and the thousands of emigrants who land monthly, find homes, employment, and I think happiness. None are forced into the army, or duped, as is represented in England. The only beggar I have met with was an old Irishwoman, and that is not surprising, for an old Irishwoman will beg anywhere. If it be true that there are many foreigners in the army, it is no less true that the best blood and intelligence of the land, compose the greater part of it, and I believe it is conceded that such bravery and desperate fighting by volunteers, was never before known. My brother *was not* killed, but wounded.”

These remarks are simply confirmatory of evidence that comes from a thousand sources, and it is, beyond measure surprising, that members of Parliament do not place more value on their own credit, than to make the statements they do from time to time. If Government wishes to ascertain the facts, let it send out a commission, and take evidence upon oath. Every facility will be given to enable such a commission to arrive at the truth.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 25th, 1864.

THE FREEDMEN'S AID ASSOCIATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WITH reference to the proposition to send a ship load of articles for the use of the freedmen in America, a doubt has been raised as to whether or not the American Government would remit the duties on such articles. There need, in no case, be more than the shadow of a doubt; but I have received a letter from America this day, assuring me that the duties would be remitted. So far, this is satisfactory; but there is a mistaken apprehension with respect to the effect that the levying of duties would have, it being supposed that it would subtract from the value of the contribution. Not so. If the articles are adapted to the wants of the negroes, or for sale in the market, a duty of 50 per cent., for instance, raises the value of every pound's worth of goods to thirty shillings; and therefore, after paying the duty of ten shillings, and other charges, whatever they may be, as all such would be an addition to the value, twenty shillings, there would still remain clear as a free gift, twenty shillings. On the other hand, if the duty of 50 per cent. be remitted, and the other charges of importation, say carriage, shipping charges, outside packages and freight, (all of which may be reckoned on bulky goods at 25 per cent.,) be avoided; then the gift of every pound, in useful or saleable goods, will be equivalent to a gift to the freedmen, of thirty-five shillings; that is to say, 75 per cent. added to the pound. Hence it will be seen, that it is more desirable to send goods, than money; but care should be taken that the goods are especially adapted to the use of the negroes, or for sale. For the latter purpose, highly ornamental articles, and articles of "vertu," would be most desirable; because these would be put into a bazaar, or other prominent place of sale, to be sold as the "free gifts from England to the freedmen;" and would in many instances, bring much more than their value.

While about expressing this view, the letter before alluded to, comes in, and I find in it the very same suggestions. In this letter, ornamented china and glass ware, and fine cutlery, are mentioned as articles that would sell well, and command, on such an occasion, almost fabulous prices.

While on this subject, I would mention that it will be desirable to avoid expenses on the goods that may be sent, so far as possible. Carriers may be found who will take the goods without charge; merchants may be found at Liverpool and London who will ship the goods free of any charge whatever; and the agents of the lines of packets at Liverpool and London, will each appropriate ten cubic tons of room upon each of their packets, respectively, free. I will nearly undertake, on my own responsibility, that they do so.

When the people of New York proposed to send flour and meal to Ireland and Manchester, the Government placed a ship of 1,400 tons, at their disposal; and a merchant (the Hon. Moses Grinnell) placed a ship also at their disposal, free. The present occasion may not entail a necessity for acts of this kind, but I will venture to guarantee the offering of ten tons, cubic measure, on each of the packets to America, in aid of this movement, free of any charge.

I would, Mr. Editor, while on this subject, make a further remark, and it is this, that America claims no credit whatever, for having sent some aid to Ireland and Lancashire, heretofore. I, as an American, and as an Englishman of forty-seven years' standing, this very day, have a right to speak, and I do speak authoritatively on the subject, and I say, they claim no credit whatever. Certain citizens, moved by their own feelings, performed what they conceived to be a Christian duty; they neither asked nor claimed any credit for it. "Sensational" articles in newspapers, may have claimed credit for it, but the real donors have not; they were actuated by the same disinterested and philanthropic motives that have moved the "*Friends*" here, on the present occasion.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 2nd, 1864.

ENLISTMENTS FOR AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—IN reply to the statements of Sir Robert Peel, the Marquis of Clanricarde and others, from time to time, I have asserted that the American Government had not from the commencement of the war up to the time of my writing, enlisted a single man in Great Britain or Ireland, or taken any steps, directly or indirectly, to enlist or cause to be enlisted, a single man, in any way, direct, remote, or contingent. This denial and refutation, you will see is fully and emphatically affirmed by the President, in his reply to the Senate, in answer to the Senate's query on the subject, a communication in which the President is not only bound, but compelled, to state the fact.

While the Irish in America, have sent, in one year, more than a quarter of a million sterling to their friends in Ireland, to aid them in coming over; while the net wages of labour is more than five times more in America than in Ireland, and while about £100 bounty is paid there, to each volunteer, nothing further is needed to induce large numbers to emigrate, and it would seem to require something more than party spite or national malignity, to make such charges; and that something more is at the bottom of these charges, viz., a culpable disregard of the facts bearing upon the subject; which disregard, is most condemnatory of statesmen and of newspaper critics. If the Exodus from Ireland continues, America, instead of enlisting in Ireland, will have to pass laws to prohibit the immigration from thence. *That*, a party in America tried to do some years since, but it always had my strenuous opposition, as did the movement, in this country, to promote emigration from Ireland, in preference to improving the state of Ireland, and making it a happy home for the Irish.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 11th, 1864.

THE FREEDMEN OF AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF ARIS'S GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent who calls himself “An American Baptist Clergyman and an Uncompromising Abolitionist,” is quite right in saying that Mr. Coffin, in his address on the subject of the freedmen in America, omitted to show, while the aged and decrepit, the women, and children of the slave population, were thrown on the Government and the benevolent, for support, what had become of the able-bodied men, and why they had not supported those who naturally were dependent upon them.

After saying that Mr. Coffin distinctly stated that his object from the first, in dealing with the blacks, had been to alleviate their distress, without enquiring whether they had brought it upon themselves; whether it was not the duty of some one else to relieve them; or, to what sect or party they belonged; I will endeavour to supply the omission, if it can, after this explanation, be called an omission.

The able-bodied slaves had been, to some considerable extent, employed by the rebels in assisting the armies in throwing up fortifications and entrenchments and as teamsters and servants, and consequently, were away from their homes; while such as had not been so employed, were driven from the plantations into the interior, whenever and wherever the liberating armies approached, leaving in most cases, the helpless to shift for themselves as they best could. The able-bodied men who were fortunate enough to escape from slavery, have been set to work on the plantations, enjoying for themselves and their dependents, the full fruits of their labours, or have been employed by the Federal Government, or enlisted as soldiers, in which capacities they have had good wages and bounties; and now, by a recent Act of Congress, they are placed in those respects on the same footing as the

white soldiers ; consequently, if these do not contribute of their wages, towards the support of their women and children, it is because they lack filial affection, and is in no wise the fault of the Government. It is, however, not so. The family and social ties are remarkably strong in this much-abused people ; the manifestation of it often putting to shame the assumption of the whites to superiority in these respects.

One, like Mr. Coffin, who has relieved above three thousand persons in their pilgrimage from slavery, at his own private cost, and who has crossed the Atlantic at his own expense, without the prospect of any fee or reward, save that of the satisfaction of benefiting his fellow-creatures, may well bear the scoffs of one who, though he assumes the designation of an abolitionist, may, for aught that is known, never have lifted a finger towards enabling a slave to procure his freedom ; and Mr. Coffin may pity, if not despise, the man, who under the appellation of " Abolitionist " and " Christian Minister," prostitutes both characters, in endeavouring to impede the flow of charity, and while the abolitionists of America, and their chosen rulers, are straining every nerve to give freedom to the blacks, and to emancipate them for ever, from the accursed slavery in which the wretched and thrice damnable cupidity of the whites has heretofore held them, finds no better employment than that of vilifying them and attempting to stop their progress, by repeating the stale calumnies of the slaveholding rebels, and the slaveholding rebel sympathisers of the North. Mr. Coffin would say, but for his instinctive mildness and that of the sect to which he belongs, " away with these spurious designations ; doff the lion's skins which you have assumed, and stand before the world in your own native character."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 7th, 1864.

THE FREEDMEN OF AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent, “A Baptist Clergyman,” having dropped the assumed character of “abolitionist,” and having ceased to decry that friend of the negro, Mr. Coffin, needs little further attention from me. Whether he is, or is not, entitled to the honourable distinction of “Baptist Clergyman,” is unimportant to the matter in hand. Unfortunately that sect in America, as well as other religious denominations, has been unfaithful to the doctrines it professes to teach, in its complicity with slavery; but conscience, which seldom fails ultimately to act upon those who are within the influence of Christian principles, is rapidly bringing all these denominations to a correct perception of the wickedness of slavery, and to the support of the Government, in its extinction; and unless your correspondent hastens home directly, he will, on his return, propound his notions to empty benches. I understand that he gives out, that he has been driven from the North, for his “anti-Government views.” The first part of his assertion may be true, but that the true reason is given, I do not credit.

The falsehoods of the rebels, and their foolish charges against the American Government, invented for the purpose of bolstering up a miserable cause in the minds of their weak dupes in Europe, and which your correspondent has the hardihood and folly to repeat, have been so often refuted, that none who have a regard for truth now allude to them. But were this not so, they could not be dealt with, nor could any argument coming from rebels, or from rebel sympathisers, be listened to. *They have resorted to the bayonet, and with the bayonet they shall be met*, until not one of them dares show his head on American soil. For once, the world shall see might and right, go hand in hand. Your correspondent

manifests so honestly, an instinctive perception of what he personifies, on "doffing the lion's" skin, that I repent, and withdraw the insinuation.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 11th, 1864.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE American Congress having by large majorities, voted to repeal all fugitive slave laws, or those laws which enabled slaveowners to pursue their runaway slaves into the free States, and demand their delivery, it now only waits the signature of the President to become a law, and that it will speedily have. Thenceforward, for ever, any slave setting his foot on the free soil of the North, becomes a free man; a result in itself worth the whole cost of the war, and which could not have been attained by any other means.

The convention assembled at Annapolis to make a new Constitution for Maryland, abolished human slavery for ever in that State, by a vote of fifty-three to twenty-seven. The chains thus fall at one blow from the bruised limbs of thousands; tears of joy start from sparkling eyes, and thanks to God rise from the lowly cabins throughout the land. Verily, there is a Providence abroad which is bringing light out of darkness. If things proceed at the present pace, the rebels will shortly have nothing to fight for; their occupation will be gone.

The various denominations of Christians in America, which in their corporate capacities, had been too tolerant of slavery, lagging behind the anti-slavery feeling, instead of leading it, owing to their connections with the South, are now taking strong ground against slavery.

The *New York Evening Post* says: "The American Baptist Missionary Union, at its fiftieth anniversary, unanimously resolved 'that we regard the rebellion begun by the Southern States, for the purpose of destroying the Union which our fathers founded, and establishing a slaveholders' confederacy, as utterly causeless and inexcusable; a crime against civilisation, humanity, and God, unparalleled in all centuries; and we tender to the President our hearty assent to the policy of conquering dis-union, by uprooting slavery, its cause.' The Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest Protestant denomination of the country, has resolved to exclude slaveholders from the church. Even a majority of the delegates from the border slave State conferences, voted in favour of this thorough measure, which was passed with the assent of all but eight votes. This movement is of the greatest importance, because this church is making the most strenuous exertions to plant missions in all the Southern States, with prospects of brilliant results. The Old School and Cumberland Presbyterian General Assemblies, took the country by surprise; they reiterated their unanimous and vigorous testimony against the rebellion, and against slavery. The generation which is growing up under the present teaching of the church, will not be disposed to yield liberty to slavery."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July, 1864.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOU have written two or three articles recently on American affairs, which no one fond of fair play and truth can complain of. As an advocate of the objects of the

North, which I believe to be the more important than any other that have engaged the attention of man since 1793, or perhaps, since 1688, I will not find fault with any one who bases an argument on facts, and draws fair conclusions therefrom, however much it may damage the cause I should wish to see prosper. Having said thus much in reference to the editorials alluded to, I wish to make a remark in reply to your very amiable correspondent, "G. B." He says: "It has always appeared to me, the greatest mistake of the Confederates has been their not offering a proposition for the gradual and entire abolition of slavery. Had they done so, they might have claimed recognition of Europe." Now I consider it rather unreasonable on the part of your correspondent, to call this a mistake, when they rebelled for no other assigned cause than that of the opposition of the North to slavery; when they proclaimed their object to be the extension and perpetuation of slavery; when they declared slavery the "corner-stone" of their Government; when they pronounced it to be, "one of the attributes of the Almighty;" and when they introduced into the Constitution of their sham Confederation an especial clause excluding for ever, any legislation whatever, for the abolition of slavery. It is under these circumstances unfair towards them to accuse them of a "mistake," in not having "proposed the abolition of slavery." It puts one in mind of the exclamation of the little girl, who said, "Ma, I wonder why the Evil One won't be good; we could then be friends with him."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 26th, 1864.

THE following is an extract of a letter from a Boston lady, and is given here as a refreshing episode in the midst of war's alarms. The letter was addressed to a friend in Birmingham.

NOTES OF TRAVEL IN CALIFORNIA.

"I FEEL that I can never be thankful enough for having had a glimpse of such marvels of creation as are to be found in the land of gold. Our visit to the "Yo Samite Valley," was an era in my life, and would in itself repay me a thousand times for all the discomforts attending our whole voyage and journeying. The valley is but little visited, the journey being a very hard one, especially for ladies; but a few world-wide travellers who have been there, say there is no scenery in the world that equals it. Our party consisted of nine persons, of whom four were ladies. We visited the Big Trees first, being determined never to leave California until we had seen those monsters of the forest. It is impossible for the mind to realise the immense size of these trees. There are but about twenty of such prodigious size, though the forest in which they stand is composed of what would be giants with us. The 'Big Trees' are from 300 to 400 feet in height; one, the largest, which has now fallen, being 435 feet. The circumference varies from 60, 80, 90, 100, to 110 feet. Our party of nine, joined hands around one, by no means the largest, stretching our arms to the utmost, and found we required two more men to encircle the tree. The branches do not grow low down on the trunk, neither are they large spreading, like those of the oak. Were they in the proportion of our oak to the size of the trunk and the

height of the tree, it has been computed that one tree would spread over several acres of ground. From these trees we went by stage coach two days, arriving at a little town called 'Conetennelles,' where we left behind all traces of civilisation, and entered at once upon the wildest life imaginable. Each one of us was provided with a horse, and we had three guides, and two pack mules for 'baggage.' For three days we rode through unbroken forests, spending the first night in the cottage of a woodman, and the second in the open air. It was a delightful experience, sleeping on pine boughs, and guarded by numerous fires. The third night we spent in the house established in the valley for the accommodation of visitors. Of course, it is rude and unfurnished; the bed rooms being small closets, curtained off with cotton cloth. There we stayed a week, making daily excursions through the valley to the different water-falls, lakes, &c. The valley is eight miles long by three wide, with no visible outlet, walled in by perpendicular cliffs of white shining stone, from two thousand to four thousand feet high. In some places these cliffs are broken by 'gulleys,' and through these a 'trail' goes, one on each side the valley. The trail is nothing but a footpath over rough and most difficult ground, and it was marvellous to see how our horses would pick their way. In some places it was very trying to weak nerves, but I enjoyed it, though often much fatigued. In this valley are the highest water-falls in the world, the water falling in one place, eleven hundred feet, at one leap. The body of water coming over is comparatively small, especially this dry season. The peaks rise in places in fanciful shapes like church spires, domes, &c., and appear majestically grand as one rides through the meadows below. I can in no respect do justice to this wonderful valley.

"We made other excursions about California, visiting the mines of gold and quicksilver, and the hot springs. San Francisco is a very pleasant city, and pretty in the winter time, they say, when the frequent rains cover its seven hills with green. We were there in the dry season, when everything is covered with dust and sand, and the cold winds

come up daily from the ocean. . . . We got back to Boston in time for the election. You will have heard of its glorious result. It has been very exciting, and is a grand triumph."

THE WAR IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—ON reading the article which occupies a portion of the editorial space in the *Daily Post* of to-day, I referred to the title of the paper three times, in order to ascertain whether I had not by some mischance taken up a counterfeit. It could not be supposed that you had on your staff, one who seemed to have failed so entirely to comprehend the magnitude of the issue of the American contest, or who could so misapprehend the state of the war and the feelings of the American people.

The writer of the article alluded to, thinks the severance of the Union accomplished; that the North should now permit the Southern slave States to go free, only concerning itself in respect to the boundary. He believes the integrity of the Union cannot be restored, and that many of the shrewdest politicians of the North are of that opinion. So ready is he to settle the matter in an off-hand way, that he would be heartily welcomed at Niagara, by Jewett and Sandars, as an envoy from the North; the whole thing could be arranged at once; the North at the height of its power and at the period of its best prospects, would simply yield everything it has been fighting for, begging the rebels to run a boundary line as far South as their magnanimity and negro-whipping chivalry would permit. The negotiators would have it all their own way, and as Jewett and Sandars, and

their compeers have quite played out the game of "dying in the last ditch," a change in the programme would be to them quite a godsend.

Were this a contest between village politicians, or simply a street squabble, this kind of settlement would be appropriate, but as the rights of thirty millions of people are directly at stake, and of hundreds of millions remotely, the quarrel has to be settled in a different fashion. So many great issues are involved in the result of the contest, one hardly knows which to select as the most important. It may, however, be stated that the freemen of America are fighting for a constitutional government, for liberal institutions, for a principle which the English nation has been contending for since the reign of King John, and has as yet but partially attained, viz., the right of a people, through their representatives, to rule themselves; in which respect the American republic is a standing menace to oligarchs and irresponsible rulers, and an encouragement to oppressed peoples to hold up their heads, and to look for the good time coming. And this is the circumstance which induces the holders of usurped powers, and their minions, wherever found, from the highest to the lowest, to desire the success of the slave aristocrats of America. The Union men, are further fighting to relieve the blacks from their degraded position, and to secure to them the same rights which they themselves enjoy, thereby atoning to some extent for their own sin in previous complicity with slavery; they are fighting to sustain their nationality, to secure for-ever, under a beneficent government, equal rights to all, from the highest to the lowest, in the domains won by the arms, or purchased with the money, of their fathers. They are fighting to preserve their rivers and mountains, their mines of coal and iron and silver and gold, and their sea coast, to themselves! with no hostile neighbour on their border ready to make war upon them on every trumpery occasion, thereby necessitating the keeping up of large military establishments. They have in that respect the unfortunate position of Europe, as a warning before them, where diplomacy, wars, preparation for wars, and the

talking about wars, owing to the divisions and sub-divisions of power, have occupied on the average, something like one half of the time, attention, and resources, of the whole people; a position that creates and sustains despots, enabling them to throttle the energies of their subjects, and operating as a continuous drag on the progress of civilisation.

Were it possible for the North to submit to dismemberment, to submit to the establishment of a slave empire; were it possible to run a boundary line, how long does the writer suppose a peace would last, with negroes fleeing to the free States by tens of thousands? Just so long as the North kept a stronger army on its border than the slave oligarchy should dare to attack, no longer. And what guarantee could men who have violated the most solemn oaths give to keep the peace? Simply none; the continuance of peace would never be worth a day's purchase. The writer would also have the Government desert the loyal men of the South whom it has sworn to defend, and who number by the hundreds of thousands, and would have them handed over to the brutalities of the slaveholders! He thinks many shrewd men at the North have made up their minds that the Union cannot be preserved, and that a division must be agreed to. He deceives himself. There is not a man in the North, besides some who have sided with the rebels from the first, who has the remotest idea of anything of the kind. However inevitable such a catastrophe may be, its possibility has not yet dawned upon the people of the North; and if anything should lead to it, it will be their confidence that it cannot occur. When the rebels are besieging New York and Philadelphia with numerous armies; when they are blockading the whole sea coast; when they are "calling their slave roll on Bunker Hill;" when "grass is growing in the streets of all the Northern cities;" all of which the rebels threatened, when they commenced the war; then, at that time, the people may be willing to yield to the slave power and submit to disunion, but never before: and all those who are inclined to improvise counter speculations may save their time and

credit by denying themselves the indulgence. And for what reason would the writer advise the North to submit, now that it has got the rebels in a much worse position than itself would be under the above-named circumstances? Is it because Lee holds Richmond, and Johnston Atlanta, and because some rebels yet remain, who profess to be ready to die in the last ditch? Does he recommend this submission when the Government has possessed more than one half of rebeldom; when it has vast armies almost in the midst of the remainder of the rebel territory; when Atlanta, one of its strongholds, totters to its fall; when Petersburg is at the mercy of Grant, and the surrender of Richmond is simply a question of time; when the rebel soldiers are deserting by hundreds, and at some points by thousands, having been deluded and deceived from the first; when the rebels have apparently conscripted about their last man, having recently taken boys of sixteen, and men of sixty; when 500,000 Union troops, many of them as fine soldiers as any that the Duke of Wellington brought out of the Peninsula, are converging from all points upon the very heart of the rebellion; when a further army of at least 200,000 men, will be in the field in two months, ready to operate as soon as the cool weather commences; when the determination of the Northern people is only greater than ever before? Is it for these reasons this advice would be proffered? and is this a time to give in and submit to a disruption of the Union, and the establishment of a slave despotism within its borders? The North may begin to think of it, for it is very fond of imitating England, unlike the rebels in that respect, when England makes over at the bidding of France, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire.

The President in this negotiation farce has taken the only course that was properly open to him. It would have pleased the rebels and their Northern sympathisers beyond expression, had he declined any reply to their advances; they would have trumpeted it throughout America and Europe, and held him up as a sanguinary brute, and European sympathisers would have re-echoed the foolery. He was willing

to treat with any one who could control the armies, on the basis of the union of all the States, and the "abolition of slavery." The nation will uphold him in this programme, nothing more and nothing less; and one of these days all men will rise up and thank him for his steadfastness. Fault is found with the construction of his Message, but if the very obvious correction be made of introducing the word "comes," in the place of "course," which word stood in the original, the defect will be mainly removed.

The rebels see that they are nearly beaten, that they cannot hold out much longer, that dying in the last ditch, divested of its poetry, is not desirable; therefore, they begin to try diplomacy. Sandars, and Mason, and Slidell, and others, have been in Europe, and have seen how diplomacy fetters all honest action, and they are "trying it on." Their first effort, is to endeavour to get Mr. Lincoln to commit himself, so that a party may be got up in the North that will defeat his election, and then come into power and give them all they ask. *But these plans will be frustrated. Mr. Lincoln will be re-elected by a two-thirds vote, and the war will be continued until the rebellion is put down and slavery is abolished.*

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 4th, 1864.

REPLY TO MR. LINDSAY ON AMERICA.

[THE following reply to Mr. Lindsay, was printed in a pamphlet form, and put into the hands of two hundred prominent members of Parliament, a few days before his motion to acknowledge the rebels, was to come on.

Three hundred copies were also circulated amongst his constituents. He was "ill" at the succeeding election, and did not stand.]

MR. Lindsay, who has supported the cause of the American rebels from the period of the breaking out of the rebellion, to the present time, in Parliament and out of Parliament, in a speech to his constituents at Sunderland, delivered apparently for the purpose of disburdening himself, declares, that "he has no interest in the contest; that he has dissolved business connection with those who were assisting the rebels; and that his sole object in agitating the question is to put a stop to the war."

While there is no disposition to impugn his assertions with respect to his pecuniary transactions with the rebels, it will not be difficult to show that with respect to disinterestedness, he deceives himself, or, would deceive his constituents, his whole course being opposed to the assertion; every speech he has made, and every movement he has made with reference to the subject, plainly indicating that he wishes the rebels to succeed in their attempt to break up the Union.

After these preliminary observations, Mr. Lindsay proceeds to say, "I predicted at the outset, that the Union could not be restored."* Certainly he did, and cannot he see that this was

* Mr. Lindsay's remarks are noticed consecutively, as reported in the *Morning Star*.

in itself, an act of partisanship, that it was giving aid and comfort to the rebels, and a cause of offence to the Union Government, which was engaged in putting the rebellion down, and thought, as Mr. Lindsay admits, that it could be put down. Instead of proclaiming this opinion in Parliament and publishing it to the world, had he been simply desirous of peace, he would have said to the rebels: "You have commenced a wicked war upon your unoffending neighbours; upon a Government against which you had no cause of complaint. For your own ambitious purposes you seek to establish an empire based upon slavery. You know that this is opposed to the spirit of the age; yet you insult England and France, by declaring that for the sake of getting cotton they will support you. Now, know, that although commercial and industrial interests may sometimes seem to override the demands of rigid morality, as instanced in the use of slave-grown cotton and sugar, and in alliances with States that have inherited slavery, yet that England and France will enter into no alliances, nor hold any friendly relations, with a people who propose to inaugurate a new era, by adopting slavery as a permanent institution, making it the corner-stone, the Magna Charta of empire, and proclaiming in their written constitution, that it "shall never be abolished." Had Mr. Lindsay and his compeers used this language, which they might have done with perfect truth, and which they would have done, had not their desire to see the Union broken up been greater than that to see slavery abolished; and had England and France also held this language, which would have best comported with their dignity, the war would have come to an end, possibly in six months; but it certainly would have done so, had England refrained also, from supplying the rebels with military stores; had this course been pursued the miseries which Mr. Lindsay laments would have been avoided. Therefore, next to the rebels, he and the rebel sympathisers in Europe, are chargeable with the continuance of the war.

Mr. Lindsay says: "The Northerners thought the rebellion would not be general; that it would soon be put down,

that the negroes would rise, and that they, the Northerners, would have plenty of cotton." It is quite true that early in the contest, the Northerners could not believe that the "evil one," had so far possessed any considerable portion of their countrymen, as to induce them to take up arms against themselves, as it were, against their own friends, against a Government of their own; under which they had enjoyed to an unparalleled extent, peace, prosperity, and happiness; against their own nationality of so many cherished recollections. But at that time they had not realised, how entirely long familiarity with the practice of slavery, had scared and demoralised the minds of the slaveowners and their retainers, nor, how completely the slaveowning aristocrats held the people of their States in subjection. Even under these circumstances, secession could not obtain at the outset a majority of the people in its favour, in any of the States, with the exception of South Carolina. With respect to the assertion "that the people of the North expected that the slaves would rise and that they should get plenty of cotton," it is only necessary to say that there never was any general expectation that the slaves would rise, nor can Mr. Lindsay bring any reliable evidence to warrant the statement; and that it was wished for pecuniary purposes, is a slander unsupported by any concurrent circumstances. Moreover, the assertion was not made by Mr. Lindsay for the purpose of establishing any point in his argument, but simply to bring odium on the Northerners.

Mr. Lindsay says, he "wishes to see the slaves obtain their freedom, but not by the massacre of their masters and mistresses." He would have it inferred that the anti-slave party of America, are desirous, or at any rate willing, to see the slaves relieved in that way, while he must have known, providing he was sufficiently informed to be justified in giving an opinion, that he could not adduce even the shadow of evidence to justify the insinuation. Three years of sanguinary war has given to the North abundant opportunity, and the greatest possible temptation, to induce the slaves to rise upon their masters; but no single instance can be named

of its being attempted. This one fact ought in itself to cover Mr. Lindsay with confusion, and render his testimony on anything relating to the subject valueless. When President Lincoln issued his proclamation freeing slaves in rebel States, there were rebel sympathisers in Europe sufficiently ignorant, or sufficiently depraved, to charge him with the design of initiating a servile war. Since then two years have passed without one instance of the slave rising upon his master; on the contrary, the proclamation has had a soothing effect, it has induced the slave to rely on Mr. Lincoln; to wait with patience the day of his deliverance; and not while the two parties were fighting, to rise, as he otherwise might have done, in an effort of despair, and put to death his oppressors. The effect of the proclamation in this respect, has been precisely what its promoters and supporters predicted.

Mr. Lindsay's "wish to see slavery abolished," is evidently altogether secondary to that of seeing the independence of the slaveholders acknowledged; this is shewn in his every movement. Professing to eschew slavery, he gives his sympathies and volunteers his influence to those who declare, as strongly as language will permit, that slavery is a Divine institution, and that their object in rebelling is to make it perpetual; while he opposes with all his force those who are resisting this doctrine, and who are giving the most overwhelming evidence of their determination to set the slave free, and to raise him in the scale of civilisation, as rapidly as his nature will permit. If the slaves can be freed through the success of the rebels, Mr. Lindsay will like it, but not, if it can only be done through their discomfiture. He claims, and no one would deny to him the full benefit of the claim, that he "has more than once said to gentlemen who represent the South in Europe;" (gentlemen with whom he appears to be hand and glove; no record is on file of his communicating with Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Horace Greely, Samuel Joseph May, Mr. Sumner, or even with Mr. Seward,) he has said to these gentlemen, and has made the astounding effort of doing so more than once, for

which perhaps the grateful slave will one day erect a tablet to his memory, that he "wished they would devise some plan by which slavery would be eventually abolished, for he could not uphold it!!" which declaration, for pure child-like simplicity and conceit, could hardly be beaten. For years and years, the anti-slavery men above-named, have devoted their time and talents in endeavouring to show to their Southern brethren the great benefits to be derived from abolishing slavery. They, and hundreds of others, have issued pamphlets by the thousands; have given innumerable lectures, and made speeches without number, combining persuasion and argument, and appealing to right, justice, and every Christian virtue. The institution was also condemned in the dying words of the most honoured statesmen of the South, Washington, Jefferson, Clay, and many others; and finally, argument, entreaty, and example, having failed, payment for slaves was offered. Yet all to what purpose? The result shows. Throughout the slave States the laws affecting the slaves were made more stringent; publications favouring abolition were interdicted; persons found with abolition papers in their possession, or who were suspected of propagating abolition doctrines, were tarred and feathered and driven from the territory, or perhaps put to death by lynch-law; and finally, not content with these means of sustaining slavery, not content with possessing it where the Constitution, by a fatal compromise, entered into perhaps through necessity, permitted it, the slaveowners demanded an alteration of the Constitution that would allow them to carry their slaves into the territories, and also into the free States; and upon this being refused, and the refusal confirmed by the election of Mr. Lincoln, they took up arms, made war upon their own kith and kin, defied the civilisation of the age, and ignored humanity in the foul attempt to extend and perpetuate their favourite institution. And now, Mr. Lindsay, after this unimpeachable evidence of their purpose and determination, as an excuse for siding with them, and thereby aiding them in the vile attempt, says: "I told the Southern gentlemen more than once, I hoped they would devise

measures to get rid of slavery, for I could not uphold it!" It would somewhat edify Mr. Lindsay to know what these Southern gentlemen said of him upon his withdrawal from their august presence.

Mr. Lindsay says, "the state of the slave cannot be so bad as represented, or he would rebel." This is the stereotyped saying of the apologists of slavery. It is ever uttered in support of slavery, never against it. Whether the state of the slave be better or worse than represented, is of no importance, inasmuch as that there are circumstances and conditions attending slavery, well known and admitted, sufficient to render it odious, and to demand its abolition; amongst which may be mentioned the following, viz.: the slave is deprived of his liberty and held as mere property; he has no social existence; is not legally married; is separated from the woman whom he has been permitted to call his wife at the will of his master; may be sold into a distant land; his children may be torn from him; the mother may be taken from her infant children and sold into a far country; the slave's reputed wife and daughters are subject to the will of their masters and overseers, and if he raises a hand in opposition, it is punishable with death; he may be tied up by order of the masters and flogged nearly to death; his evidence is not received against a white man; he is kept in ignorance, and denied the possession of manhood, and almost that of a soul. These are among the hardships the slave is subject to, and form no portion of the exaggerated representations alluded to by Mr. Lindsay. Less cruelties than these brought the seven plagues upon the Egyptians, as a punishment and a manifestation of the Divine displeasure, which should be regarded as a warning of the wrath that will at some period be poured out upon those who persist in holding their fellow-men in bondage.

Mr. Lindsay subjects the poor slave to hard conditions: he places an ignorant, unarmed being, who knows nothing of the world, nor the ways of the world, in the midst of an armed and warlike people, where he may be legally shot down, or even burned at the stake, upon any manifestation

of insubordination, and then says, "your condition cannot be so very bad, or you would rebel!" But whence come these sanguinary laws? Are they not in themselves conclusive evidence that the slave has from time to time, notwithstanding its hopelessness, evinced a disposition to break loose from his task-masters? Then again it may be said, "the blacks are a patient, docile, and forbearing people; they nurse no malice nor are they revengeful. Were they North American Indians, they would rise some night and attempt to put their masters to death, at whatever risk." Such an act Mr. Lindsay would perhaps receive as evidence of their being oppressed! The abused and despised negro, during centuries of the most scandalous oppression, has exhibited Christian virtues far exceeding any ever shown by communities of the white race; and in what position will he and the white stand at the judgment seat! Every one with a white face should tremble for his complicity with the terrible wrongs practised upon the negro.

Mr. Lindsay says, "if the Northerners were in earnest, as some of them profess to be, he would support them, because they would then have no fugitive slave law, and the oppressed slave would find a way across the frontier to the land of freedom, and the Southern people would be brought into direct communication with England, and would thereby learn that it was not for their interest to maintain slavery?"

Now here is a man who has the audacity to charge the anti-slavery party in America with being hypocrites; offering that as an apology for sympathising with slave-holders and wishing them success; who is so ignorant on the subject, as not to know that the fugitive-slave law is repealed; a law considered by himself so important to the question, as to induce him to indicate that its repeal would convince him of the sincerity of the Northerners, and cause him to support them. Let him act up to the profession. Why the escape of the slave across the borders to a land of freedom should bring the slaveowners into more direct communication with England does not appear; and why such direct communication should "show them that it was not for their interest to

continue slavery," is equally unexplained. Their intercourse with England has been free and unrestricted for a period of seventy-seven years, during which time every advance made by English philanthropists in the direction of teaching them the evils of slavery, has been met by ridicule and defiance. They were ready to make war on England, even for reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" while any Englishman caught on their soil with anti-slavery documents in his pocket would have been hanged without judge or jury. Moreover, as England's constantly increasing demand for cotton during this lengthened period, is admitted on all hands to have been the main incentive to the increase of slavery, it requires no small amount of assurance and disregard of facts, to say, that further increased intercourse with England would have a contrary effect. Mr. Lindsay knows, or ought to know, that the fugitive slave law was made by the rebels, whom he is now supporting; it being drawn up and introduced into Congress by the "distinguished statesman from the South, now in Europe," with whom he is on such intimate terms, and passed in opposition to the most strenuous exertions of the anti-slave party of the North, now Mr. Lincoln's supporters, and who, on coming into power, have repealed it. What reply can he make to these facts? Now is the time, then, according to Mr. Lindsay; now is the time, while slaves are becoming free, on crossing the border; for the people of England and Europe at large, to show to the slaveholders that it is not for their interest to continue slavery; and if that be done successfully, that being the bone of contention, the war will cease. What argument they will use with the slaveowners, who declare that nothing but force shall prevail, remains to be seen.

Mr. Lindsay goes on to say, "it is not the abolition of slavery that the North desires, but Empire." This has been so often repeated, he must not be charged with originating it; still, having adopted the saying, it may for the time be treated as his own. Sympathising, as he does, with the slaveowners; desiring as he does, to see the Union divided; he finds it necessary to offer an excuse for feelings so opposed

to his anti-slavery professions, and this he proffers in the imputed "insincerity of the North." In order to give the appearance of consistency to his own conduct, which is of little importance to any one but himself, he does not scruple to charge a whole people with gross hypocrisy. But let him be fairly dealt with ; let full weight be given to his objections ; let the inquiry be made and satisfactorily answered, what evidence will establish the sincerity of the North ? what will satisfy Mr. Lindsay ? for, besides showing the worthlessness of the excuse, the object is to bring him from the error of his ways. In the first place, it may be said, that had the free States submitted to the demands of the slave-owners to be permitted to carry their slaves into the territories, and to be allowed to take them as property into the free States, the rebellion would not have taken place. Now, standing out against these demands, and taking all the risks of a refusal, even to accepting war, was, in itself, evidence of sincerity. But the anti-slavery party did not stop here ; for, since coming into power, it has passed more than twenty substantive acts for the relief of the slave, and for improving generally the position of the black, amongst which may be named the following :—the repeal of the fugitive slave law, the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia ; the prohibition of slavery in the territories for-ever ; and in the States that may be formed therefrom, a territory, say twenty times larger than England ; prohibiting for-ever slavery under the national flag ; a treaty with England to suppress the slave trade ; hanging one of its own citizens for being engaged in the slave trade ; acknowledging the independence of the black republic of Hayti, and receiving a minister from thence at Washington ; inducing five slave States to resolve to abolish slavery in their respective States ; offering compensation to the rebel States if they would emancipate their slaves ; receiving hundreds of thousands of escaped slaves, giving them freedom, food, clothing, employment, and to some extent, education ; and the establishment of a "bureau" to take charge of the freedmen. These, with many other acts for the benefit of the blacks, have been adopted ; and finally,

as a war measure, the President, after giving the rebels time to elect to receive or refuse compensation, has declared all slaves in rebel States free.

Mr. Lindsay will hardly deny that these are important measures, and rather indicative of sincerity : in fact, that the anti-slavery party has made material progress ! And what has he to offer on the other side ? What has he, or what have other rebel sympathisers, done, to benefit the negro, or what has he done to free the slave ? Something surely ! O yes, he has "more than once said to the gentlemen who represent the slaveowners in Europe," that he "hoped they would find some way to eventually get rid of slavery, for *he* could not uphold it." That was something. Had he told Bonaparte, prior to the battle of Waterloo, that he hoped he would give in to the Duke of Wellington, it would have had as much effect. If these acts may be considered evidences of sincerity, let Mr. Lindsay and all others, avoid repeating hereafter, the silly and insulting saying, that Mr. Lincoln's party is not sincere in its opposition to slavery. As to the North's "fighting for empire," all governments that strive to maintain their laws, do so, to maintain empire : this is called patriotism, and has been heretofore regarded by old-fashioned persons, as a virtue. Moreover, a large portion of this territory, which went through the farce of seceding, was bought for national purposes, and mainly paid for by the North ; and the persons who were permitted to *locate* therein, and to enjoy the protection of the general government, had no more right to take it out of the Union, than an American coming to Warwickshire and purchasing an acre of land, would have to secede from England, and place the land under the rule of France. Nor did those rebel States which formed a portion of the original thirteen, have a much greater claim to state sovereignty. Setting aside the fact, that they had in the most solemn manner conceded such sovereignty as they possessed, to the general government ; their independence was gained for them mainly by the efforts of the North. Massachusetts sent ^{60,000} ~~fifty~~ thousand soldiers to the war of independence, while South Carolina, which has

been at the bottom of all this difficulty, sent but a little over ~~one~~ thousand. They fought for nationality, and not simply for the ground they stood on.

Mr. Lindsay says:—"the North asks our sympathy, but we reply, we know you too well; our sympathy you cannot have, because you are not in earnest in your professed object. Your object is to subjugate the South; which means the massacre of eight millions of people, to give liberty to three millions of blacks." And so, the North is intent on giving liberty to the blacks, after all! And not only in earnest, but so terribly in earnest are these Northerners, who "care nothing for the blacks," that they are willing to undertake the arduous, and by no means humane or agreeable work, of massacreing eight millions of people, in order to liberate these same blacks! This surely looks like sincerity. Perhaps if after having done this deed, they should turn to, and massacre themselves, as a proof of sincerity, Mr. Lindsay would be convinced. He errs, in saying the North asks England's sympathy. It did not ask for it, but expected it. Engaged in an arduous struggle, involving the highest considerations of humanity, it did expect Old England would have been true to the principles that its philanthropists had promulgated; and the especial feeling Americans have in this matter, is not that of anger, but of deep regret, mortification, and disappointment, that even a portion of a nation, which they had held in so high esteem, should do so much to lower its standing. Mr. Lindsay "knows the Northerners too well." He has yet to give some proof that he knows them. Judging from his speech, he is in the most profound ignorance of them and of the great political questions that agitate the republic.

He says, the people whom he addresses "do not require to be informed on the subject, for the able correspondent of the *Times*, who writes from New York, has displayed an ability, an honesty, and a love of truth, and who has conducted himself in a manner to command admiration, furnishes all particulars, and renders it unnecessary for him to repeat them."

This eulogium might pass for something, had not Mr. Lindsay shown that he is entirely unqualified to give an opinion on the subject; and had he not evinced that his opinions and his scanty information, are derived almost solely, from the source he thus lauds. This correspondent was sent out by the *Times* for the purpose of writing down the Union, and he has left no means untried to effect it. His shameful misrepresentations and his unblushing mendacity, are most appropriate to the columns of the *Times*. Two millions of men can be brought, each of whom knows much more of the facts than Mr. Lindsay, who will testify that he has studiously misrepresented and often falsified; and who consider him a disgrace to that respectable class to which he belongs, and a reproach to those who uphold him. And with respect to the *Times*, no evidence of third parties is necessary to establish the fact, that its articles on America, during this struggle, and its predictions of the issues, have been characterised by an inability to grasp or appreciate events, in a most surprising degree; and that in addition to this great want, the general tenour of its course has been such, in respect to this subject, as to stamp it with lasting infamy; it having been false to its readers, false to the great principles which should govern the press, and false to humanity.

Mr. Lindsay says, "the subjugation of the South is as far off as ever." The term subjugate is not known to the anti-slavery party in America, and is not applicable to the case. The Government is simply endeavouring to re-establish law, where it is overridden by a despotic slaveholding oligarchy. Instead of subjugating the people, it is striving to restore to them the rights of which they have been deprived by a military despotism that has set aside all law, even their own State laws, and which has reduced them to a semi-state of slavery. The Government is endeavouring to secure to each and every one of its citizens, whether North or South, full and equal rights; placing the people of South Carolina on the same footing as the people of good old Massachusetts. But when Mr. Lindsay pretends that no progress has been made in putting down the rebellion, he does something worse

than exhibit ignorance ; he opposes his word to the knowledge of light and truth. The rebels are not of his opinion. One half the territory claimed by them has been rescued from their grasp. The remainder is nearly shut off from the outer world, and is occupied permanently in many parts. Powerful armies are in its very centre, and more than a quarter of a million of additional troops are now raising that will soon be ready to aid their efforts. The rebels' sea-ports are either captured or blockaded, and most of the forts on their coast have been taken from them and are now occupied by the Government forces. On the other hand, they occupy two positions with strong armies, viz., Richmond and Atlanta ; and so long as they can keep these armies together, they will oppose the Government. It is, however, known upon reliable evidence that about all their effective men have been conscripted, that in order to contest the recent battles they have called out the boys of sixteen and seventeen and the men up to fifty, or older ; and that their soldiers have only been kept together by force, and the promise that this was to be the last year of the war, giving them victory and a return to their homes.

Mr. Lindsay estimates the American debt at "eight hundred millions sterling." The American secretary of the treasury, who knows somewhat better than he, places it at four hundred and fifty-seven millions, on the 30th June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five. But suppose it is eight hundred millions, what does that show ? not what was affirmed by the *Times* and other pro-slavery rebel prints at the outset, that the Northerners had no patriotism, that they cared for nothing but dollars, that they would submit to any terms imposed by the South, rather than part with their money. One thing is certain, that the *Times* and Mr. Lindsay, and others who are so fearful the Americans will get into debt, will not have to pay the money. England fifty years ago, with about one-half the present population of the States, and one-fifth their natural resources, had a national debt of one thousand millions. Many politicians of that day of the *Times*' and Mr. Lindsay's stamp, held it to be a

“national blessing;” but whether so or not, it has not ruined England, nor prevented its growth in riches and power. Then why should Mr. Lindsay and the *Times* harp upon the national debt of America, but for the purpose of assisting the rebels by preventing loans to the Union Government? It is a problem not yet solved, whether a reasonable amount of surplus capital invested in Government stocks, does not assist industry and tend to reproduction, as much as when invested in other ways; but in any case, the capabilities of the American mines of coal, iron, gold, silver, and copper, and of the Government lands, are so great, that the profit upon them by the immigrant labour that will flow into the country, after the war is over, would alone pay off the national debt within a moderate period, were it twice eight hundred millions.

Mr. Lindsay says: “It is the duty of every thoughtful man to protest against the war.” Certainly it is. The rebels made the war without cause, and continue it for an unholy purpose. Universal humanity should have protested against it, but neither Mr. Lindsay nor any of those who now talk of the sanguinary North, ever raised a voice against it. And in what fashion would he now have it protested against? by saying to the rebels, “you are wrong, you are striving against light and reason, against the spirit and civilisation of the age; you ought not to succeed, and probably cannot succeed; we advise you to ask for terms; we will mediate with your Government to spare your lives and property, and to reinstate you in political equality; requiring of you one thing only, viz., to give up slavery.” Is this the way that Mr. Lindsay would have thoughtful people adopt? Oh no! he would have them say to the South, “you are plucky fellows; you are fighting for independence; your generals are equal to Wellington, and your soldiers to Spartans; you cannot be beaten; go on, you must succeed; England will supply you with war material and take cotton in return; we do not exactly approve blockade running, it is not consistent with the dignity of members of Parliament, but there are people enough who do not mind turning a penny

in that way and we will not interfere." And to the anti-slavery party of the North he would have them say, "you are hypocrites; you care nought for slavery; you are massacring the Southerners for the sake of empire; it is cowardly for you to fight with such odds in your favour; but the South is so powerful, you cannot succeed; give in; your nation will be rent in twain, and a slave empire established; but that will be better than a government established on universal suffrage." This course may be proper for a partisan, but is not fit for a mediator, nor is it consistent with professions of disinterestedness.

Mr. Lindsay says: "It is a matter of congratulation that various meetings are being held throughout the Northern States to stop the war, and that a member of Congress has sent to me a resolution that was passed, and desires me to make known in England, that there must be a Western as well as a Southern Confederacy." In the first place, in reply to this absurdly ridiculous statement, it may be said, it is not true that meetings of any importance have been held to advocate such doctrines; but it is true that the rebels being put to their wits' ends, and seeing no chance for them but in dissensions of the Northerners, are sending their emissaries wherever they can find sympathisers to receive them, to plot with these traitors, and if possible break up the anti-slavery government party. At an insignificant meeting of these rebels and traitors, the resolution alluded to was passed, and it is of no more importance to the general question, than a resolution at a meeting in some obscure town in Ireland, to the effect that that country must be separated from England, would be to the stability of the British Empire. These Northern traitors who are corresponding with Mr. Lindsay, are the men who aforetime truckled to the slaveowners, and enabled them to pass the fugitive slave law, which Mr. Lindsay considers the abomination of America, and the bar to any sympathy with the Northerners, but which the opponents of these traitors, the loyal men of the North, have since repealed; and they are now striving to defeat Mr. Lincoln for the purpose of getting into power

themselves, and then to bring the rebels back into the Union by granting all their demands with respect to slavery; the main difference between Mr. Lincoln's programme and theirs, being, that while he requires its universal abolition, they would permit its universal extension. The "Senator who has communicated with Mr. Lindsay," must be regarded by every honourable man, as only worse than a rebel. There are two or three of these in Congress, who came near being expelled by a two-thirds vote for treasonable speeches. They will never be returned again. This scoundrel Senator, plotting with rebels and with Englishmen, so far as they will listen to him, Mr. Lindsay holds up as an authority, and apparently regards as an honourable man! What would he say of an Englishman who, in the event of an insurrection in Ireland, should plot with Frenchmen to ensure its success? English law would soon stop his power of communicating. Evidently the Senator, in addressing Mr. Lindsay, knows his man.

Mr. Lindsay continues: "A very distinguished member of the Senate, writing to a friend of mine, a statesman who holds a high position in Europe, and who formerly was a member of the United States' Cabinet, says, 'we are tumbling to pieces fast, and unless Europe steps in and saves us, we shall go to pieces.'" This "distinguished Senator," this friend of Mr. Lindsay's, is one of the aforesaid traitor Senators; and the "statesman in high position in Europe," to whom he communicates, is one of the rebel agents in this country; while Mr. Lindsay, who pretends to absolute impartiality in the contest, is their go-between; a rebel on the one side, a traitor on the other, both of whom are endeavouring to break up a Government, which they themselves have acknowledged to be the most benign Government in the world; the existence of which Government, they had not known, prior to the rebellion, except through blessings conferred by it. This traitor Senator, however, for once speaks the truth. Writing in the interest of his traitor friends and the rebels, he says, "we are tumbling to pieces, and unless Europe steps in and saves us, we shall all go to destruction."

That is exactly the fact, and as Europe will not step in, they will meet their merited fate. The rebels and their allies, alone, call out in this way. The Union party does not call for help from Europe to save them from going to destruction.

Mr. Lindsay "regrets that England has not offered its friendly advice, for the Government of France has long been of opinion that the friendly offices, not only of England and France, but of the other great European powers, would be acceptable, and would aid the Government of America in solving the difficulty of restoring peace." The reply to this statement is, that it is absolutely untrue. It is notorious, that the American Secretary of State informed both the Governments of France and England, in a most emphatic manner, that "any movement in the direction of interference, whether in the shape of advice, or otherwise, would not only not be acceptable, but would be considered offensive;" and this dispatch has been upheld by the Congress and approved by the American people. Therefore, the Government of France could not at any time, since the date of this dispatch, which was in reply to the movement of the Emperor, suppose that the offer of what Mr. Lindsay calls "friendly offices," would be accepted. The slightest intimation to France of a change of views by the American Government would be at once acted upon.

Mr. Lindsay thinks that "should any other man than Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Fremont be elected to the Presidency, this year would end the war and all its miseries." These are the anti-slavery candidates; any other of the present named candidates for the Presidency will be pledged to permit the rebel States to return to the Union with the institution of slavery unimpaired; and also to allow it to be extended into the territories, with a fugitive slave law protecting it throughout. This might possibly end the war for a time, but would be an endless prolongation of miseries both to the white and black. Besides its present area, a territory twenty times larger than England would be given over to slavery, perhaps, for ever. Now, Mr. Lindsay and his sym-

pathising friends have to choose between these two: slavery or no slavery? There can be no mistake nor equivocation; if he is in favour of slavery, he will go for some one else than Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Fremont; if he is against it, he must go for either one or the other of those two.

Mr. Lindsay says, "owing to Great Britain's refusal to express an opinion, the Northern people were led to suppose that the Union could be re-established, and therefore Great Britain encouraged them to proceed." This is absolutely childish. Did not the Government of Great Britain, according to the American view, not only express an opinion, but in "indecent haste?" Have not its leading statesmen and its leading periodicals continued from the first to express the opinion that the rebels "could not be put down;" that they had "made a nation;" and that "the great republic was broken up?" And have not the Americans continually complained of this partizanship, and also declared that the persons who talked in this way were ignorant of the question, and not competent to give an opinion? Then what folly to say that they opposed the rebellion because Great Britain encouraged that course in not expressing an opinion.

Mr. Lindsay declares he has "no interest in blockade runners." Let that be fully believed. But when he says his sole motive is to put a stop to the war, he must be told that the whole tenour of his words and actions is opposed to the assertion. He desires war to cease, with the rebellion successful; not with it put down: that is the kind of cessation which the rebel sympathisers throughout Europe are crying out for: and he adds, "we must have kindly feelings towards both the South and the North, though they do speak *angry words* against us;" and by the way of inaugurating this kindly feeling, he tells twenty millions of people, highly educated as a people, pretending to as much piety as he, that they "are hypocrites," that they "care nothing for slavery," which they pretend to hate, and that they "are willing to massacre eight millions of their neighbours, in order to give liberty to three millions of blacks, whom they care not for!" He says these things, which are

a mere sample of what is being said continually by persons of his caste, who are mainly led by the *Times*, or who ape the *Times*; and yet he thinks it magnanimous to recommend "kindly words to be used in America in return for bitter words!" Mr. Lindsay has been bred in an atmosphere of so much national superciliousness and conceit, that he can talk in the blindest manner, and with perfect self-complacency, of dividing the American nation; of their being hypocrites and sanguinary barbarians; he can hold correspondence with the rebels and traitors, and endeavour to get his Government to take their part; all apparently without dreaming that he is insulting the people he thus deals with, or giving them cause of offence.

Finally, Mr. Lindsay closes his remarks by recommending "Abraham Lincoln to say to the rebels, as his namesake of old said to Lot, 'Let there be no strife between us I pray thee, between thee and me; is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself I pray thee from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right, or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.'" But why select a passage of Scripture inapplicable to the case, when an appropriate one could be found? Had Lot refused to leave the land, and persisted in setting up abominations to demoralise and pollute the people, and had Abraham no place of refuge, it is not to be inferred that he would have been permitted to submit quietly. On the contrary, judging from the commands given to his descendants in later times, with respect to those who practised abominations, it is to be supposed that he would have been required to destroy Lot and all his adherents. Why does not Mr. Lindsay seek an example in that remarkable manifestation of Divine interposition, in the appearance to Moses in the burning bush; commanding him to deliver the Israelites from the bondage of the Egyptians?

We have it on the evidence of Holy Writ, that the holding of fellow-men in slavery, was regarded by the Almighty as a heinous offence against his holy rule. Appearing unto Moses, he declared, "I have seen, I have seen, the afflictions

of my people, and have come down to deliver them. Depart, and say unto Pharaoh, let my people go ; but he will **not** let them go, and I will bring upon him seven plagues, even to the smiting of the first-born throughout the whole land of Egypt." Is God a respecter of persons ? Is not the poor negro cared for, as well as the Israelite ?

In these latter days, God does not indeed appear to man face to face, nor in the burning bush ; but in the revelation of Jesus Christ, in the new dispensation, he appears by precept, by example, by the power of conscience, as manifestly, and as authoritatively as he did to Moses. And through these channels, and through all others by which the Christian may be reached, he says to Abraham Lincoln, " I have seen, I have seen, the afflictions of my people, and have come down to deliver them. Go forth and strike the fetters from the slave." And should the President say, " who am I, that I should do this great thing ?" he is answered, " Go, obey my commands. I will uphold thee ; in the day of tribulation I will succour thee ; I will show to the whole earth that there is a God who dwelleth on high, and who will execute justice and judgment upon the children of men."

This is the instruction that Mr. Lincoln may receive from the Bible, and not a direction to permit the oppressor to take either the right hand or the left in a crusade against the rights of his fellow man, and to trample under foot a down-cast race.

When the people of America shall have overcome this heartless, tyrannical slaveholding oligarchy, and shall have put down the rebellion ; when they shall have secured equal rights to all throughout the nation, from the highest to the lowest ; when they shall have struck the fetters from the slave, and placed the black race in a position to acquire political equality with the white ; when measures already advanced, shall be completed, for covering eventually their magnificent domain of two millions of square miles of territory, with free schools, and with churches for the worship of God ; when, by precept and example, they shall say to the nations of the earth, in a voice that will command attention ;

"Cease your wars for personal motives, cease oppression, and establish a reign of truth, justice, and peace;" when these things take place, as assuredly they will in the immutable decrees of Providence, then all those, or the descendants of all those, who have aided in the rebellion, by sympathising with the rebels or otherwise, will cry out with an exceeding bitter cry, for its record to be struck from the page of history, and its shame to be blotted from the memory of man.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August, 1864.

NOTE.—The proposed motion was abandoned.

THE *TIMES* AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IN refuting from time to time the arguments advanced by the *Times* with regard to the American question, the great object has been to prevent their influencing public opinion, and thereby inducing the Government to interfere in the American quarrel. That danger being past, there may be little profit in criticising its articles; but still it may be a duty, whenever they lead its readers to conclusions dangerous to the harmony of the two nations.

In an article in your paper of the 21st July, headed "Unfaithfulness of the *Times*," I noticed an instance of its recklessness in deceiving its readers, in the full acceptance of a silly version of the state of American feeling, given by an unknown person in a Western State, signing "Anderson,"

while it ignored resolutions of Christian ministers, in conclave assembled, to the very opposite effect, though representing more than ten thousand of their class, and nearly twenty millions of people; which resolutions were before its writers, while adopting and promulgating the Andersonian statements.

Again, about six weeks later, the *Times*, still persisting in the same line of argument, came out with a strong leader, representing the people of the North as tired of the war and of the Government, and as engaged in forming a party that would turn out Mr. Lincoln, and elect a man to office who would speedily accept terms of the rebels and conclude a peace.

Strange as it may appear, this article, so essentially puerile, alarmed the commercial community; cotton and other colonial produce fell in price, a semi-panic ensued, and "failures" occurred, to the extent probably of ten millions sterling, precipitated, if not wholly attributable, to this article, which had not in reality one particle of fact for its foundation.

Immediately on the appearance of the article, I denounced it in your paper, in severe terms. I showed that its premises were erroneous, and consequently its conclusions valueless. I pointed out that the political movements openly indicated "that the North would support the Government; that no terms would be offered to the rebels in arms; that Mr. Lincoln would be re-elected, and by a two-thirds majority; and that the war would be continued."

Again, on the promulgation of the "Chicago Platform," and of the letter of acceptance by McClellan, the *Times* came out with another article, affirming its previous statements. Now, to its refined notions, "the people were behaving like reasonable beings, forsaking their vulgar habits of electing rail-splitters and the like; they were about to raise to their chief office a scholar and gentleman, one who would fill the place with dignity and credit."

The errors in its assumptions I at once exposed; affirming that it was impossible for the Americans to so far demean

themselves, as to elect any one upon the "Chicago platform," especially one who could write so discreditable a letter of acceptance. I further predicted, that when it came to the vote, Mr. McClellan would not get "more than three States, possibly not more than two." *That*, you will find in your paper.

The result of the election is now known. McClellan is said to have received the vote of three States, and three only, out of twenty-seven, viz., two slave States, and one State that had always sided with the slaveholders. It is even doubtful whether he has carried more than two, giving him, according to the present most authentic accounts, but 21 votes against 238; and those all pro-slavery votes. It may be well to say here, with respect to the comparison of the candidates, made by the *Times*, that Mr. Lincoln is vastly superior to the rival candidate in intellect, force of character, and reliability; in fact the latter had no especial recommendation for office, even in the eyes of his own supporters, besides that of "availability."

Now, this election has been one of the grandest events of modern times. A people, in the midst of an arduous war, called upon to determine by their individual votes the policy of their Government, and while the fiercest passions are supposed to be aroused, proceeding to the polls with all the calmness and quietness of church gatherings, and then and there, without noise, without tumult, without so much disturbance and rowdyism throughout the whole land, as occurred recently in one spot in London, depositing in a few hours nearly four millions of votes, to decide the destiny of the nation; surely this was a scene over which every friend to humanity might rejoice, but especially the advocates of representative government.

The almost unanimous decision in favour of Mr. Lincoln, should have induced the *Times* to admit that it had been misinformed, and consequently that its conclusions were erroneous. A magnanimous spirit and a high regard to truth, would have dictated that course; but no, these qualities are not manifested, for it holds forth in the following strain:—

“The case of the democratic minority is soon stated. They were denied the franchise the Constitution gave them, by the generals of the President. What fate have they to expect now the election is decided? What right will be held sacred, when the right of election is set at naught? Henceforth, we may consider the democratic party as expelled from the arena of politics, and destined to submission, or to suffer all the miseries that tyrants can inflict. We can regard the appointment of Mr. Lincoln as little less than an abdication by the American people of the right of self-government; as an avowed step towards the foundation of the military despotism; towards the subversion of a popular government, which may still exist in form, but which in substance is gone. We would not be supposed to insinuate that it is the destiny of Mr. Lincoln to be the real founder of a dynasty, to which he has taken so large a step, for whatever his merits, his warmest admirers can scarcely maintain that he is of Imperial stuff. Future historians will probably date the second presidency of Mr. Lincoln, as the period when the American constitution was thoroughly abrogated, and had entered on the way which republics pass from democracy to tyranny.”

It would occupy too much of your space to point out the absurdities of these remarks; suffice it to say, they are not based upon one particle of fact. The simple issue before the people was, “shall our Constitution, our Government, our Nationality, be upheld?” And to that they have given an emphatic, overwhelming affirmation. Nowhere has the right of a loyal citizen to give his vote precisely as he pleased, been interfered with. The city of New York, where more soldiers were quartered than in all the other polling places in the Union, gave 38,000 majority for McClellan! Was this effected through the aid or interference of the military? It is quite true that the spurious democratic party represented by McClellan is killed, never again to raise its pestiferous head; but it is constitutional that it should be so; it is the result of the effectual working of the Constitution which upholds the principle of ruling by majorities.

Against this principle the slaveowners rebelled so soon as it turned them out of office ; and the *Times*, while affecting to bewail the downfall of the democracy, the hideousness of which had aforetime been its standing theme, follows the rebels in a lament that the "minority" cannot rule, because its hopes have failed ; because the people have been true to mankind, and true to themselves ; because they have thwarted the designs of rebels, traitors, and dupes ; because they have sealed the doom of the slaveholders ; because they have declared the "Great Republic" shall not die ; because they have in fact given the lie to all the predictions of the *Times*, its ire is excited. But let no one be too hard upon the *Times*. Let none attribute to malignity what belongs to infirmity. Its writers are sharp, no doubt, in the construction of sentences, and as special pleaders ; but when called upon to assume the functions of judges in a complicated case, their habit of deciding upon foregone conclusions renders their decisions valueless. They have not the power to divest themselves of prejudice, and the littleness which becomes constitutional in minds habituated to seeing things through one medium only ; and therefore fail, where the elements for consideration assume a different hue to what they have been accustomed. The *Times* will always be wrong until it changes its policy. It builds its theories with respect to America upon assumptions founded on misrepresentation and misconception, and consequently, they must fail ; but instead of attributing this failure to their own unsoundness, the *Times* imputes it to the perverse action of the Americans, who will not time their step to the tune volunteered by the writers of Printing House Square.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 24th, 1864.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S MOVEMENTS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—GENERAL Grant, and General Sherman, and the American Government, appear to have succeeded in keeping the plan of the campaign secret. There is no indication at present that the Northern critics have even a suspicion of the whole plan; and as for the rebels, they assign directly opposite intentions to the movements, and are quite as ignorant of them as Beauregard and Hood were, when they took their troops far away and left the coast clear to General Sherman. The *London Globe* even, which comments upon the military movements in America with great fairness and manifest ability, has failed in taking into consideration one very material element, from which Sherman will receive great aid. It will be recollected that the American Government has been organising for a considerable time, at Fortress Monroe, and other places, an expedition for an unknown purpose. The destination was said to be Wilmington, and at one time an immediate attack upon that place was expected by the Unionists, and as certainly apprehended by the rebels. This expedition has recently attracted but very little attention, indeed it has been almost entirely lost sight of. It is, however, certain that a large fleet of transports and ships of war has been congregating at Port Royal, and it is unreasonable to suppose that this has been done without an object. Probably an army of 30,000 men is collected at this point. Now it is clear from recent accounts, that Sherman with 50,000 as fine troops as ever stepped, all in high health and spirits, and with perfect confidence in him, was marching upon Augusta, from Atlanta, a distance of 140 miles, in two columns, taking the two lines of railway which are about forty miles apart, and sweeping the whole intermediate country. On the 19th November, his advance had

gained eighty miles of the distance. It is not likely that his march had been materially interfered with. Some opposition may have been made at Macon, but nothing to retard the progress of his troops.

On the 25th of November, he should have been before Augusta, about which time, a little before or a little after, the expedition collected at Port Royal, will probably be launched upon Savannah, when, unless some most untoward circumstance occurs, that place will be captured. This will open the Savannah line to Augusta, the head of navigation, to the gun boats, when that city, if not already in Sherman's possession, will fall an easy prey to a combined attack by the gunboats and land forces. In any case, it is not likely that Augusta can make any serious resistance to Sherman. This being accomplished, Augusta will be fortified and made, in common with Savannah, distant 120 miles, a base of supplies; the river being kept open by the light draught iron-clad gunboats, prepared for the purpose, and will also form an impassable line to the rebels. 10,000 white troops assisted by 5,000 blacks, which Sherman may organise for garrison duty, will defend Augusta against any force the rebels can bring against it; and 5,000 whites and the same number of blacks, will garrison Savannah. This will leave full 60,000 troops at the disposal of Sherman, and with these he will at once occupy Branchville, sixty miles on the road of 120, to Charleston. There is nothing leading to the supposition that Charleston could withstand such a force from the interior for a single day. That place, being taken, could be held by the iron fleet and a few troops, assisted by negroes for heavy work and for heavy garrison duty, leaving Sherman with his entire army to move northward against Wilmington or elsewhere, and on the road to Richmond.

On the supposition that this programme is correct, the *Globe* critic is relieved of the threatened danger which he foresees to Sherman, in having first to capture Augusta, and then to proceed by a wearisome march to Savannah, to meet instead of friends, a strong opposition. This plan of campaign now laid down, appears to be highly possible, and not

only is success on the cards, but the game is certain, provided no very untoward circumstance occurs. It is nearly impossible that the bold enterprise of Sherman should have been decided upon, or permitted, without preparations being made for giving to him material aid from the sea board.

The accounts of the destruction of towns by Sherman, are no doubt circulated by the rebels to arouse the people. No private property will be destroyed by him unless for an urgent military necessity, or unless made the means of unwarrantable aggression on his troops. The *Times* says, "Sherman had given order to devastate and lay waste the country;" while, at the same time this was writing, *it had before it, Sherman's orders commanding all private property to be respected.* It appears, however, that Beauregard, and the Governor of Georgia, and also rebel Congressmen, had urged upon the people everywhere, "to destroy all property that could by possibility be of any use to Sherman." This, neither the *Times*, nor any of the other pro-slavery advocates, cry out against.

Should Sherman be entirely successful, great results may be looked for at a very early day.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 7th, 1864.



"THE BEST PUBLIC INSTRUCTOR."

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—NEWSPAPER readers are puzzled; they require enlightenment. Your contemporary, in commenting yesterday on Mr. Lincoln's message, says: "The President has inaugurated his second term of office with a policy of extermination. He is convinced the South will never re-enter the Union of

its own will, and the North will grant no other terms. The slavery question is still to be used as an implement in working out the Presidential theory. The negroes are still to be treated not as men and brothers, but as property, which their present owners may retain by returning to their allegiance. The proposed resolution to abolish slavery is simply an invitation to the slaves to desert their masters, and presently European powers must interfere," &c., &c. And in to-day's paper, having taken time to consider, he says: "The complete text of the message fully bears out all that we said in our comments on the telegraphic reports!"

Now, in your leader yesterday, you say, "in regard to slavery, the President is as outspoken and decided as he possibly could be. There is no longer any talk of preserving the Union by conceding to any set of men, loyalists or Southerners, the right to hold their fellow-men in bondage, or to sell them and deal with them as mere goods and chattels. We look through the message in vain for any hint of that policy which at one period tempted States to remain in the Union, by offering to respect and cherish the peculiar institution; nor, do we now find any trace of a disposition to bribe the seceding States into submission by a pledge that the slave laws shall be re-established or maintained. On the contrary, the message is as decided on this point as the most ardent Boston abolitionist could desire. Slavery, the President declares, must be banished from the United States; slave dealers must be forbidden to set foot on the soil of the republic. 'I repeat,' says the President, 'that while I remain in my situation, I shall not attempt to modify or retract the Emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of the proclamation, or by any act of Congress.'"

It will at once be seen that these comments, by our "best public instructors, are in direct opposition, although written from the same stand-point, and dealing with the same document. Many hold that your strictures are entirely true, and those of your contemporary entirely untrue, and that a writer who is so careless of facts as to call the message

"the President's Inaugural Address to his second term of office," is not entitled to treat on American affairs. Perhaps no more need be said with respect to his remarks; but the idea that the President's recommendation to prohibit slavery by constitutional amendment, is simply to induce the slaves to "desert their masters," is so original and unique that especial attention may be called to it.

The President in his message declares the rebels can have peace at any time by laying down their arms and submitting to the laws; but many persons here, think there is little prospect of that, because they regard Jefferson Davis as a second Washington, a great patriot, and consider the people in the rebel territory to be all of one mind, determined to fight to the last man. Many also are of opinion that the slaves are an idle, shiftless, set; incapable of providing for themselves; and that, even if possible, it would be highly impolitic to abolish slavery suddenly.

These very crude notions are entertained only by those whose information on the subject is very superficial; and this might be shown in many ways, but two statements in its support will suffice for the present. The first relates to Jefferson Davis.

A gentleman, who held a high position in one of the rebel States, of superior intelligence, once a friend of Mr. Davis, and a colonel in his army, thus writes to friends who had asked his advice whether they should continue to support the rebel cause:—"With all their men in the field from seventeen to fifty; with dissensions and divisions widening every day; with the hypocrisy, by which Jefferson Davis has heretofore masked himself, growing threadbare, and the hideous deformities of his nature and character becoming more apparent and hateful to the public; with the question of reconstruction becoming a familiar sound to ears the most obstinate and fastidious; with the terrible experiment of arming their slaves seriously discussed and finding many advocates; with their armies diminishing by desertion, and only held together by military force; they cannot fail to see the rapid decline of that immense power which once

threatened the existence of the noblest Government on earth. While at the same time, in but a glance at the North, they will see that it is more wealthy, powerful, and determined to-day, than when the first war note broke over the homes of a peace-loving people; and that were the South united, and had it three times its present resources in men and munitions of war, it still would be unequal to the task its ambitious and heartless rulers have imposed upon it. Seeing these things, the people of the South cannot mistake the path of duty, dictated alike by prudence, patriotism, and a sincere attachment to their community. That duty is for no more neutrality, but a positive effort to sustain the Government. Jefferson Davis says, 'Some who have left the South and gone North, are enemies, while some are friends.' His friends are those who would wrap the Northern cities in flames. You know, and I know, that he is cold enough, and cruel enough, and malignant enough, and adroit enough, to be ready with some plausible exclamation against it, to deceive the world, at the same time holding up his hands in holy horror over some trifling excess committed by the Union soldiery."

Here is a pretty picture of Jefferson Davis, by one who was his friend, until he found him out, and who, probably, knows more of him personally and of the subject on which he writes, than all the newspaper editors in England.

The second statement is in evidence that the slaves on becoming free will work and take care of themselves, and that the people of the rebel States are not all of one mind with respect to the rebellion. It is well known that vast numbers of the blacks have left their masters and are now under the protection of Government as freed persons; it is supposed full two millions in all. Many were entirely destitute, having nothing but their hands to rely upon. Amongst them were vast numbers of women and children, old men and cripples. The Government undertook to provide, so far as it could, for all, in giving food and clothing, and in setting them to work. In the course of two years such has been their industry and thrift, and such the number of whites who

have left the rebellion and come North, that the President declares "the Government is at the present time relieving forty thousand more whites, from the South, than blacks!"

Now, here in those two statements is food for reflection, and data for forming an opinion on two questions which puzzle some very worthy people, and which exhibit facts that encourage patriots and philanthropists, but sicken the hearts of the persistent rebels and their sympathisers.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

December 20th, 1864.



THE following "Appeal," from the freedmen of America to the people of England, appeared in the Birmingham Post, December 26th, 1864, just prior to the meeting called by the "Friends," in aid of the freedmen.

AN APPEAL.

HELP! From a distant land for help we crave,
Our cry wild waters waft unto your shore ;
Louder it rises than the billows' roar.
Help! For the suffering help—help for the slave !
Our agonising cry hath reached the ear
Of Him who aids the lowly and distressed ;
And He hath answered with a voice of fear,
And sent our land unrest.

The Sun looked down on marshes lone and wild,
On waving forests and savannahs wide ;
On Southern homes, all radiant in the pride
Of beauty—and fair Peace stood by and smiled.
Yes, all seemed fair ; but o'er the land there hung

A heavy curse that Beauty scarce could cover—
A low, deep groan that half escaped each tongue,
And nought could smother.

And there we toiled, there yielded up our life—
Wives, husbands, children, for our masters' gain.
Wives! husbands! ah, the slave may plead in vain—
"Let no man put asunder man and wife."
Our babes, our darlings, were they not our own?
Alas! no slave can claim a parent's right.
And deep and wild burst forth our stifled moan—
"Lord for us fight."

Father! wilt Thou forget the worn-out slave?
Our only Help, dost Thou forsake us now?
Yet still no answer, though our knees we bow;
And for sweet Liberty we humbly crave;
And yet no answer. Then a distant hum,
A sound of war. Invaders in our land,
Nearer and nearer still the armies come.
Is this Thy hand?

Cities and villages in ruins lie;
The ravaged country is all desolate;
Famine and death upon the people wait.
Ah! can we hope deliverance is nigh?
The wind's soft chords through bending trees that sweep,
Are lost in cannon's roar and battle cry,
And mangled men lie down to their last sleep
In agony.

We faint, we fall; when from the banners near
The stars flash out, and one blest word we read—
"Freedom!" We come to help you in your need,
And "Freedom to the slave" is sounding in each ear.
We rise, we follow on, we join that band,
From suffering unto suffering but to flee.
Ye English hearts, can ye not understand
How dear is Liberty.

No longer slaves, yet tasting misery's cup,
Unsheltered from the cold, or raging storms;
No clothes to cover our lank wasted forms;
No food to raise our sinking bodies up.
Help, O ye people of that fair free land,
Whose glory has gone forth from shore to shore;
We ask for food, for clothing, at your hand,
From your abundant store.

So nigh the grave.

Say not "your countrymen should give you aid,"
For they have well and nobly done their part ;
Much have they given with lavish hand and heart,
And in due time the debt shall be repaid,
But not by us. There is a higher sphere,
Wherein a truer reckoning shall be given ;
For many an act of love, forgotten here,
Is treasured up in heaven.

Help us, Old England, now we humbly crave,
Who the choice gifts of heaven dost richly share ;
Still be your boast, and still our earnest prayer,
"No son of Britain e'er shall be a slave."
There, where no moth nor dust can enter in,
In the great treasury shall your gift be stored ;
Interest a thousand fold there shall it win,
And bring its own reward.

JULIA GODDARD.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

peared in a rebel paper, the *Savannah News*, may address itself to their perceptions.

The editor, who in arguing against the proposition to arm the slaves, would "put them into the service extensively, but would not place arms in their hands," closes his remarks as follows: "We desire above all things, except our liberty, to maintain slavery as it exists, intact. We can imagine but one thing possible on earth which would be worse than the emancipation of our negroes, and that is subjugation by the North." Now, this is plain speaking, hardly to be misunderstood, and no doubt expresses the views of the slaveholders generally, being in fact but a re-statement of their oft-repeated declarations. Should they be "subjugated" by the North, they will have no voice in the question of freeing the slaves, it will be done without their aid; but if not subjugated, which is what the sympathisers referred to desire, then, according to their own declarations, there "would be nothing which would be worse than the emancipation of their negroes," and consequently they would not emancipate them. Now, against such direct, irrefutable evidence, how puerile it is to attempt to stifle the conscience, in wishing them success, by the delusive hope that they will in that event abolish slavery.

But putting slavery out of the question, it is said the rebels "are fighting for liberty, for independence, and to that, they are entitled; all people being entitled to independence." To be sure they are, the right kind of independence; but according to the doctrine held by secessionists, and adopted in this case by their sympathisers, every individual is entitled to do as he pleases. Law is simply tyranny in disguise, and is to be obeyed only when it meets his views.

Lancashire, without a grievance, is entitled, if so inclined, to secede from England and re-open the slave trade. Why not, if this secession or rebellion doctrine be correct? It is one of the wonders of the times that this doctrine, which means nothing less than universal anarchy, is for the most part promulgated and taught by those who claim in home politics to be conservative. The rebels "are fighting for

liberty ;" but what kind of liberty are they fighting for? They are fighting for the liberty to enslave their fellow-Christians; in every other respect, they had full liberty before the rebellion. They had liberty to rule themselves; liberty, to a vast extent, to rule the nation; liberty to bluster, and especially, as a holiday pastime, to threaten England, knowing that in any collision, the commerce of the North, which was their envy, would suffer. In this respect, threatening England, they were continually playing the part of the little ugly, ill-tempered boy at school, with a big brother at his back. Their hirelings at the North are still playing this game. This applies to the slaveholding aristocrats and their minions, who have got up this rebellion for their own benefit, and not to the people at large, who are hardly more chargeable with the rebellion than the Prussian soldiers were with the war with Denmark. These slaveholders were ready to make war with England for reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Would that one could present to the sympathisers with these slaveowners, their own photographs, taken when crying over that book. What a burlesque it would be on consistency! But they may be, nevertheless, true to principle, because they would give the rebels full liberty to extend slavery, making it the corner-stone of government, as an inducement to them to abolish it.

Again, these slaveholding philanthropists "are fonder of the blacks than the people of the North are; they mix freely with them, and have not that antipathy to them." It is quite true that children nursed by blacks, and brought up with them, have no especial antipathy to them, while those who have never, or very seldom, seen a black face, are disgusted and frightened at the sight. It is said that children in Africa are equally frightened on seeing a white face for the first time. This natural antipathy has been strengthened by the fact, that the blacks, through the action of slavery upon them and upon society at large, have been found heretofore at the North, in servile positions, and in a state of great ignorance; consequently they have been subject, in many cases, to injustice, which they, however, except in rare

cases, have felt no more than the Irish hod-carrier does his exclusion from polite society. These injustices are, to a great extent, now repented of. There has been from the first a sprinkling of earnest men of extended views, above all prejudice, of wide philanthropy, who have advocated full and equal rights for the blacks, and through the providence of God these views are now becoming general throughout the Northern States. Children who would have fled in fear from a black face, will now run miles to see the black soldiers, and stand and gaze upon them with admiration. The Northerners are determined, having now the opportunity, to make a clean breast of it; to get rid as rapidly as possible of all complicity in treating the blacks differently to the whites. They will in due time give them the franchise; will at once place them in the school-house and university; and, when duly qualified, the Senate will be open to them.* It will be their own fault if they do not presently take a respectable stand with white men, but it is not to be expected that the prejudice of colour will ever be entirely eradicated; it would be contrary to the nature of man, and man cannot change his nature.

And how does the slaveholder shew his "love for the black," while mainly free of antipathy to colour? He holds him in bondage; denies him the rights of man, and even those of animals; deals with him as a chattel; ignoring, however, the assumption that he is a chattel, by flogging him, hunting him with bloodhounds, and otherwise treating him as a chattel is not treated, but as a being endowed with feeling and intellect. Shame on humanity, that any one can be found to raise a finger in aid of those who uphold this system or practise these cruelties. Shame on the man who can utter one word in favour of its supporters.

Then what a glorious act will be the abolition of slavery in America. What will it not effect in promoting civilisa-

* At the time of this going to press it is reported by telegraph, that the State of Mississippi has chosen a coloured man as Senator to the United States Congress.

tion and Christianity? Undoubtedly it will cause the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba, in the Brazils, and eventually throughout the world, and will speedily affect the people of Africa, raising them gradually from a state of benighted barbarism, to that of an intelligent civilisation; it will, to some extent, act upon the coloured race everywhere, who number, perhaps, seven hundred millions.

Whether all these things will be accomplished, or not, it is equally the duty of the Americans, to free their four millions of slaves, and they will do it. It is three-parts done already. Nothing stands in the way of its full accomplishment but Lee's army at Richmond. The work will be accomplished. Thanks to the stern energy of the descendants of the Puritans; thanks to that love of right which stimulated their English ancestors to strike down the cavalier when simply the minion of despotic power, and which still nerves the arm in dealing with pretended descendants of an inglorious crew; thanks to that admiration of right which is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and which is the greatest glory of Englishmen, American slavery is to be forever abolished. This rebellion, begun and continued in wickedness, will be put down; and in the end, all men will rejoice.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 19th, 1865.



DR. MACKAY ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—THE readers of the *Times*, and also of your quotation from that journal in your paper of to-day, will see that Dr. Mackay, the *Times*' New York correspondent, says:—
“That Congress is busying itself with the discussion of the

abolition of slavery, by legal amendment of the Constitution, thereby confessing what all the world, except the fanatics of abolition, knew perfectly well, that Mr. Lincoln's proclamations and edicts to that effect, were nugatory and invalid, and unsupported by force of arms, of no more value than waste paper. But the deliberations of Congress to this end excite but little interest. The all but certainty that the South will arm and free its able-bodied slaves, and the chance, that the European powers will be thereby induced to recognise the Confederacy, occupies the attention of all parties. Those who know the South best, believe most implicitly that both people and leaders are willing, if not anxious, to make the experiment."

It is a great misfortune that a person to whom a portion of the English people look for information on the American question through the *Times*, is totally devoid of judgment and truthfulness, whose word would hardly be received in any court of justice in Great Britain which had before it his manifold misrepresentations with respect to American affairs.

In the present instance, he attempts to blind the British public, by mixing up two things having no connection with each other. The President, by proclamation, liberated all slaves of rebels. This, as is well known to every one, did not ensure their freedom, so long as their rebel masters and the rebel armies had control over them; but whenever and wherever they could escape from this thralldom, through the advance of the Union armies, or by any other means, the proclamation made them free for ever; and the President has declared that "under no circumstances, while he remains in power, shall any one of them be ever returned to slavery."

But this proclamation did not prevent the individual States, those now in the Union, or which may hereafter come into the Union, from continuing or adopting the institution of slavery. That would remain a matter entirely within the jurisdiction and supervision of the State Governments, there being nothing in the United States' constitution to take it

out of their hands. Massachusetts might to-morrow, for aught there is in the constitution to prevent it, adopt a system of slavery. Therefore, what the Congress is now debating, is an amendment of the constitution, which shall entirely prohibit slavery for ever, in any and all of the States. Two-thirds of the members of each branch of Congress must vote for it, and then three-fourths of the individual States must accept it, in order to its incorporation into the constitution. This is a measure of almost unsurpassed importance to man ; a measure of greater magnitude than that of the abolition of slavery by the British Government ; and yet this unscrupulous writer, would, by endeavouring to identify it with another measure, which he falsely represents as nugatory, endeavours to treat it as of little moment, and to pass it upon the British mind as one of the puerilities of American action and legislation. Not content with this prostitution of truth, Dr. Mackay goes on to say, "These deliberations excite but little interest;" he has the assurance to say this, notwithstanding the subject was especially recommended by the President in his message, and is engaging the liveliest attention throughout the Union. There is, however, no very great anxiety over it, because it is known that the Congress, which comes into power on the 4th of March, will give a four-fifths vote in its favour ; and to show the importance attached to the amendment, it may be said that the election of members who would give this vote, was regarded, next after the election of Mr. Lincoln, as *the greatest triumph of the Union party at that election.*

With respect to what Dr. Mackay says of the South's arming the slaves, freeing them, and thereby obtaining European recognition, it is not worth the paper it is written upon. It is simply of a piece with his other pro-rebel, pro-slavery, speculative misrepresentations, with which he has continuously misled the readers of the *Times*, and endeavoured to mislead the British public at large. No doubt the leaders of the rebels will do anything to save their necks, when driven to the wall, even if it be the sacrificing of their

first born, but they will stick to slavery so long as they can ; and when they have no other chance, may attempt to barter it for recognition ; but they will then lack two material things, first, any territory for recognition, and secondly, any nation base enough to recognise them.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

January 24th, 1865.



SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent, Mr. Arnold, is not “ashamed” to raise his voice in favour of the American slaveowners, but at the same time he would not be classed with the advocates of slavery. He would quiet a conscience, terribly exposed, by the self-imposed delusion, that the slaveholders, if left to themselves, will have the humanity to emancipate their slaves. He does not think that the leaders in this rebellion are amenable for the cruelties inflicted under the system which they are fighting to uphold ; but whether they are or not, he would not have them coerced into doing right. He understands the declaration of the *Savannah News*, that “the South would part with everything but liberty, rather than give up slavery,” to be an exceptional sentiment, whereas it is but an echo, and that feeble, of what has been uttered by the rebels, officially and unofficially, not only in a thousand different ways, but universally. He considers Mr. Olmstead’s evidence of their being at this time a strong anti-slavery feeling in Virginia, to be a sufficient justification for believing that the slaveholders, if left to their own devices, would presently abandon slavery. His faith is strong, and his reasons weak. He overlooks the facts that for eighty

years these slaveowners *had* their own way. That instead of loosing the bonds of slavery, they continuously drew them tighter and tighter, prohibiting the emancipation of slaves even by their own masters ; making it penal, indeed, as much as one's life was worth, to speak in favour of abolition. And finally, when they found the anti-slavery feeling of the North making rapid strides, they broke into rebellion, in order to sustain and extend the institution, at the same time declaring it to be an institution ordained of God, and that it should form the "corner-stone" of their Government. Against this action and these declarations, Mr. Arnold brings the evidence of Mr. Olmstead, to show that there were persons, at a former time, in Virginia, favourable to emancipation.

Had he searched the records, he would have found that Mr. Jefferson wrote more strongly and powerfully on this subject above seventy years ago, anticipating that the anti-slavery feeling would become stronger and stronger, until eventually his State of Virginia would emancipate its slaves, and that it would be followed by all the other States. The whole world knows, how these hopes and expectations have been disappointed.

It may refresh Mr. Arnold's memory to be told, that the cotton States, which rebelled first, agreed upon a constitution, one article in which prohibited the importation of slaves from States not in the Confederation ; and that this article was for the purpose of inducing the border States, which still stood out, to come into the rebellion, several of them being breeders of slaves for sale in the more southern markets, a business which had become very profitable, but which greatly aggravated the inflictions of slavery. Upon this being promulgated, Virginia at once seceded ! and the grand object for which Lee, Stewart, Jackson, &c., (Virginia men), are fighting, or have been fighting, is to preserve the institution of slavery, and secure a market for their slaves. Mr. Arnold asks, with amusing simplicity, whether I consider these, and thousands of other high-minded and generous men, amenable for the cruelties practised upon the slaves ? Here

is a direct question, and I will give it a direct answer. In the first place, I do not regard as high-minded, or generous, any man, or set of men, who will fight for, or in any way uphold, such an infernal system. Secondly, I consider Lee, Stewart, Jackson, Jefferson Davis, and other leaders in this unholy rebellion, as abettors and supporters of all the cruelties practised under the system, and justly amenable to God and man for them; and that, consequently, their names will go down in history covered with infamy. The talk of these men being engaged in a "deadly struggle for life and liberty," is such superlative nonsense, that none can be affected by it but those who are blind to common sense.

To reject the abolition movement of the North because not made earlier, or because it has not from the earliest period embraced the whole people, is as unreasonable as it would be to ignore the efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce, because they did not carry the whole people of Great Britain with them; or, to deny credit to Great Britain, and not accept its act of emancipation, because not adopted unanimously, or at an earlier date.

Whatever may be the shortcomings of the Union party, or the merits of the slaveowners, it is as certain as anything human, that with the success of the former, slavery will be at once abolished throughout the States, and very soon thereafter throughout the world; while the success of the rebels would firmly establish it, throughout the whole Southern part of North America, unto remote generations.

What have the rebels done during this war towards the abolition of slavery? Less than nothing. What have the Union men done? Almost everything. Besides freeing about two millions of slaves, they have, by releasing the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, Tennessee, and part of Louisiana, from the iron rule of the slaveholding oligarchs, enabled those States to abolish slavery of their own free will; thus showing what can be done, and what will be done, by the friends of emancipation, spoken of by Mr. Olmstead, whenever they are released from the despotism of the slave power. And are not these great and important

acts, which are already accomplished, a sufficient guarantee of what the Union will do, when Lee's army is put down? That army alone stands in the way of the universal abolition of slavery. It will soon melt away like dew before the sun.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February 1st, 1865.



THE WAR IN AMERICA—THE SITUATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WHEN I last addressed you on this subject, Sherman was in the centre of Georgia, apparently threatening Augusta. At that time the *Globe* newspaper, distinguished for its fairness and ability in criticising the campaign, thought it possible that he might be so crippled in taking, or in attempting to take Augusta, as not to be able afterwards to endure a lengthened and exhausting march to Savannah, and still be strong enough to capture Savannah, in which case, having no base of supplies and no connection with the fleets on the coast, his army would be in a very critical position.

I ventured at that time to predict, as may be seen by reference to your paper, that the expedition fitting out at Fortress Munroe, was destined for Port Royal, and would there join the forces under Foster, and take possession of Savannah, thus providing a base for Sherman, while he was reducing Augusta; after which, that the united forces would capture Branchville and Charleston, and then march north on Wilmington, on their way through North Carolina, to assist Grant in the investment and capture of Richmond. The proceedings since have not been precisely in the order of this programme, but the result is not substantially different. Sherman, instead of wasting time and strength at

Augusta, so deceived the enemy by a series of able movements, as to accomplish the march to Savannah and seize upon the city almost without opposition, thereby connecting with the fleets and establishing a safe base of supplies; and while this was doing, or soon after, the Fortress Munroe expedition, instead of being sent to Savannah, proceeded against the forts which protected Wilmington, and finally succeeded in capturing them. Consequently, the position is altogether as favourable as was anticipated it would be, at a corresponding date.

Thus much being accomplished, it becomes interesting to study the probabilities with respect to future movements: and first of all Sherman's positions may be considered. At the last dates he had a fine army of 70,000 men, full of life and confidence, spread over the country east of Savannah, for a distance of from twenty to fifty miles, between that city, Augusta, Branchville, and Charleston; and so cleverly were his "divisions" handled, that persons on the spot appeared to be as incapable of judging of his intentions, as we at a distance.

Opposed to this army, the Confederates could not muster between it and Richmond, over 30,000 regulars, and these greatly dispirited. General Sherman will probably cut the railroad leading from Charleston to Augusta, thus isolating the former place from the south and west; and then, while demonstrating against Augusta and Branchville, perhaps occupying the former by aid of gunboats, will sweep down suddenly and capture Charleston, almost before the enemy knows he is upon them. The fate of these three cities, Augusta, Branchville, and Charleston, is certain, upon all ordinary calculations.

The capture of Savannah, Wilmington, and Charleston, will release about two hundred ships of war, of all rates, and these will be free to act elsewhere. They will assist the expeditions to North Carolina, and occupy the remaining ports in Florida, capture Galveston, and completely blockade Texas, besides helping in other movements.

By about the 1st of March, General Sherman will be on

his way to Raleigh, North Carolina; Wilmington being previously taken by General Terry. Lee will then find himself in this position, viz., with General Grant's army, fully one-half larger than his own, encircling him from the north bank of the James River, to a distance of twenty miles south of Petersburg, cutting off all his supplies from that side; with Sheridan pressing up the Shenandoah Valley and cutting the Vicksburg railway; and Sherman, with his invincible army, coming between, occupying the Danville road, and covering the whole distance between Grant and Sheridan. At the same time North Carolina will have shaken off the Confederate despotism and have fallen back into the Union, from which it had never seceded of its free will. Then what can Lee do? Hemmed in on all sides by nearly three times his number of men, his supplies cut off, his troops dispirited, his own States seceding from him one after the other, what can he do? Ability, which he, no doubt, possesses, in acting on the defensive, is a valuable characteristic, so is determination to die in the last ditch; but these cannot accomplish impossibilities; he must succumb to circumstances. If he takes time by the forelock he may cut his way through to Northern Georgia and Alabama, but at present he has exhibited no talent in offensive movements. The best thing he could do for himself, and the worst for the United States, would be to escape into Texas. There he would give trouble; but the probability is that retreat will be delayed too long, and that he will finally be forced to surrender. Should it, however, not come to this, should he escape from Richmond (for to remain there will be impossible,) how is he to supply his troops and recruit his finances? The fact is daily becoming more and more obvious, that the vitality of the rebellion has departed, and that its end approaches.

While these military movements are taking place, no expectation of peace need be entertained. Jefferson Davis will hold out so long as an army can be kept together. He is tyrannical, unscrupulous, vindictive, and vain; and he knows there is no medium position for him between that of

a successful rebel and a despised outcast; and he will persevere so long as he has any hope of something turning up in his favour. The moment Lee's army breaks up, there will be an end of Davis and of secession; and an immediate reorganisation of the Confederate States will commence. This will be effected by the Union men of the South, and not by the slaveholding oligarchs, who have occasioned all this trouble. These, so far as any are left, will sink into obscurity, and gradually die off. In this reorganisation, slavery will be abolished, and for ever prohibited in the United States, but property generally will be respected, and a very general amnesty proclaimed.

That the Confederates see their end approaching, is clearly evinced by their public writers. These, at one time, are going to place the Confederacy under the protection of France or England, or both, and make common cause against the Yankees; while at another time they propose to join the Yankees, and make war upon Mexico, France, Canada, and England. Let none be deceived by their ravings; the Union men are not going to shake hands with them for any purpose whatever, nor especially to enable them to triumph in their own vindictiveness.

The United States Government is going to put down this rebellion by main force, the only proper way to deal with it; and after that is accomplished, it is not going to make war upon any one; neither upon Mexico, France, Canada, nor England.

The Union people of the United States would not take Canada as a gift; they do not want it; but would greatly rejoice to see it and other provinces assume a distinct nationality, and be formed into a great and prosperous people, with whom they could continue in everlasting friendship. Whoever asserts to the contrary, knows nothing of the feeling that pervades the great body of the American people.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February 13th, 1865.

JEFFERSON DAVIS' FAST DAY.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—IF the “600 lovers” of the American slaveholders, who “propose to keep Jefferson Davis’ fast,” for purpose of praying for the success of the vilest rebellion that the powers of darkness ever instigated man to organise against his fellow, and the most infamous attempt ever made by a proud unscrupulous aristocracy, to deprive the working man of the fruits of his labour and of his just position in society, will but lend themselves for one day to the Museum of the “Institute,” to be shown at a moderate charge, it is safe to say there will be such a rush to see these curiosities as to place this valued institution entirely above future want.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

March 6th, 1865.

[We print Mr. Goddard’s letter as the severest and most fitting punishment that could be inflicted on the writer.]

EDITOR.

NOTE.—This was the last that was heard of this precious proposition.



THE WAR IN AMERICA—THE SITUATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—BY the telegrams to-day, it appears that Sherman overcoming all opposition offered to his progress by John-

stone, Hardee, and Bragg, without serious damage to himself, but inflicting very serious loss upon the rebels, had occupied "Goldsborough," as I predicted in my last communication to you, had united with Schofield, and was re-organising a very fine and efficient army, against which no force could be opposed, with any prospect of offering an effectual check, to his onward progress. In the meantime, Lee had made a *spasmodic* effort to throw off the incubus that weighed upon him, through the persistent pressure by Grant, but entirely without success. On the contrary, he had met with a loss, which he could in no wise afford, leaving him in a more circumscribed and dangerous position than ever. These telegrams give no account of Thomas, who by previous advices, was advancing from the North, and threatening Lynchburg; but there is no reason to suppose that the movement was not progressing, nor that it would not be prosecuted with signal success. Further, Sheridan, with his force of ten thousand cavalry, all in fine condition, and ready for any dashing movement, had joined Grant, and would be moved to the left, thereby interposing between Lee and Johnstone, cutting off the railroads and Lee's sources of supply, and placing him in a most critical position. Therefore, unless some unforeseen chance, opposed to all ordinary calculations, favours Lee, he will have no resource but to negotiate for terms, or to capitulate, with his whole army. There can hardly be a doubt that President Lincoln's visit to Grant was in anticipation of this state of things; in order to be on the spot to give to Grant, without delay, his advice, assistance, and sanction, with respect to the terms to be agreed upon. It may consequently be expected that within a very short time we shall hear of the rebellion being in effect, brought to a conclusion. The terms that the President will agree to are these, viz.:—the laying down of arms by the rebels; a very general amnesty for offences; universal return to the Union; the entire abolition of slavery in the rebel States; and not one penny of the rebel obligations in any way or shape to be paid by the general government, or to be allowed to be paid by any of the rebel States. These

are the terms that will be granted, and they will be accepted. All speculations to the contrary will prove delusions.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 10th, 1865.

THE WAR IN AMERICA—THE SITUATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IN the last article in your paper with the above heading, it was stated that Sheridan, with his fine body of cavalry, having reinforced Grant, would be moved to the left, encircling Lee, and forcing him to negotiate, or to capitulate. It is now ascertained that, after his failure in the attack upon Fort Stedman, Lee, or Davis, attempted to negotiate with Mr. Lincoln, but not succeeding, preparations were immediately made for the evacuation of Richmond. Grant, however, was too quick for this movement. On the 29th of March he sent Sheridan to the left, in order to lap over Lee's right, which extended from Petersburg parallel with the railway, due west, towards Burkesville; at the same time moving Meade's army in the same direction, so as to confront the entire rebel line, and within convenient reach. Heavy fighting occurred on the 31st and 1st, but early on the 2nd, Sheridan having turned the right wing of the enemy, Grant, who had previously advanced his troops within fighting distance, made the grand charge. He was everywhere successful; the rebels were driven, and completely routed; large numbers were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Night coming on, Lee, favoured by the darkness, evacuated Petersburg and Richmond, escaping, it is supposed, with about 25,000 men, out of an army of 65,000, which he had commanded three days before. These,

so far as was known, fled in utter disorganisation, throwing away nearly everything, and escaping with little but their persons.

Sheridan and Grant were following hard after, on the 3rd, picking up 1,200 prisoners in that day, and it is yet uncertain whether or not any considerable portion of the fugitives would get away.

The question now with the British public is, what will be the result of this battle? and should it be the finishing blow to the rebellion, or something like the finishing blow, what course will the rebel States pursue with reference to reorganisation, and to being admitted into the Union?

The *Times*, true to its practice of concocting a theory, and then drawing its conclusions from it, instead of dealing with the plain facts, says, "the end of the first act is come, and now the Government has the most difficult part of its task to perform, that of reconstruction." Seeing that the *Times* has continuously averred that the Government never could succeed in what it has already accomplished, little value attaches to its present predictions.

In reply to the first question, should Lee escape Grant and Sheridan, he will hardly reach Lynchburg, or Danville, with five thousand well organised men. His flying troops, disheartened by defeat and despairing of success, will mostly leave for their homes, and he will be lucky in arriving at his destination with a respectable body guard.

By the 6th of April Sherman will have been informed of the events at Richmond, and would immediately attack Johnstone. Should the latter accept battle, he would be cut up and his army be destroyed; most likely he would attempt a retreat to Charlotte, or Lynchburg, but to be followed by Sherman, and also met by Stoneman and Thomas, who were coming down from the North. Then, with numbers reduced, men demoralised and disheartened, without supplies, without funds, in fact, without a Government or anything to fight for, what can the rebel generals do? Simply nothing; the war will be virtually at an end, and by the first of June the whole of the country east of the Mississippi,

and north of Texas, will be under the undisputed rule of the general Government.

In reply to the second question, "What will be the course of reconstruction?" the answer is plain. The Union people in the rebel States, and very many will affect to be Union people, will proceed at once to organise their State Governments, and to ask admission into the Union. Only three conditions will be imposed upon them, viz., a republican form of Government, which the constitution requires; the abolition of slavery; and the non-payment of any debts contracted for the purposes of the rebellion.

The *Times* thinks the most difficult portion of the task is still to be performed; but it states "the whole contest has been an enigma, everything turning out opposite to what was expected." It could hardly have made a more complete acknowledgment of the worthlessness of its pretended expectations. It fails, however, to realise that these expectations were the offspring of its own erroneous assumptions, and it has not the honesty to recollect that concurrently with their promulgation, they have been denounced as absurd and delusive. It, and its European satellites, "cannot see how the Union is to be re-established." They say "a standing army will be requisite to keep the people down," &c., &c. Nothing is more improbable. The reason this opinion is entertained is, that it is founded upon assumptions, and not upon facts.

Those who talk thus, ignore the facts, that this was not a people's war, but simply a slaveholders' war; that a majority of the Southerners were opposed to secession, and were coerced into it; that they were led to believe they had a constitutional right to secede, and that it would not lead to war; that had it been called rebellion, the people, for the most part, would not have joined in it; that they had no grievance whatever, nor any wrongs to redress, but lived under the most "benign Government," according to their own acknowledgment, "that ever existed;" that they were governed by laws of their own making, and by rulers of their own choosing; that all the promises made by the rebel

leaders are unfulfilled, and their predictions proved to be false and delusive; that by no possibility, under any Government in the power of man to form, could they be more prosperous and happy than under the United States Government; that the leading rebels, hereafter, will have no voice in the State Councils; that whatever of rebellion there may have been in the people at large, has been thoroughly whipped out of them; that their sufferings have been so great, they will never risk a repetition of them; that whatever of turbulence, vindictiveness, and aggressiveness any portion of them may exhibit, must of necessity be against their own people, and not against the Northerners, nor against the general Government, these being out of their reach, and consequently it will be their own people who will put down acts of aggression. All these things are ignored, and the theory is adopted and upheld, which has been taught by the rabid rebels, that the Southerners hate the "abolitionists," the "Yankees," and the general Government and Lincoln, with such a deadly hatred, they will sooner die a thousand deaths, in a thousand last ditches, than enter again into communion with them. Now, a beautiful commentary upon this foolery has just occurred. It is surpassing rich; and is positively too cruel upon European sympathisers. Did Jefferson Davis, before the last great battle, offer to stop the rebellion, to lay down arms, to give up slavery, to give up everything else, if the rebels might be allowed "one thing!" And what was that one thing? To be allowed to leave the hated Government, the hated communion of the North, the hated contact of free negroes; to be allowed to flee to some happy clime, taking wives, and children, and property with them? No such thing; but simply it is said, to be allowed to remain citizens of the United States, of the "great Republic." O, tell it not in Gath! The last ditch rebels, first begging their "chattels," the beings whom they made the war to enslave, to come to their rescue and fight for them; and, failing in relief from that quarter, to invoke the privilege, giving up everything else, of coming back into this "hated" Union!

One act in this drama, the *Times* fails to notice : it is apparently one of as stern retributive justice as any recorded in Holy Writ. It is that of the capital of the rebels, who had made the war for the purpose of for ever riveting the chains of the slaves, being taken possession of, occupied, and its property and people guarded and protected, by emancipated slaves, acting under the Union flag. Any one who had been an unscrupulous slaveholder, can imagine the depth of this humiliation : none other can. At the last date, not a white soldier had entered Richmond ; it was occupied exclusively by negro troops, and simply because they were nearest. But was there not a providential direction in placing them nearest ? It is said they seemed fully to appreciate the dignity of their position, observing the strictest discipline, and conducting themselves with the greatest propriety.

Instead of requiring armies to keep them down, there will be great rejoicing in the rebel States when the war is over. They have groaned for four years under an iron despotism, and suffered in every way beyond expression. They will now be restored to peace and quiet, divested of the cancer which was devouring them, that greatest curse, slavery, that can afflict a nation, and will make greater advances in the next ten years, than they ever had previously, in three times that period.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 18th, 1865.

THE DEATH OF MR. LINCOLN.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—As the mind partially recovers from the shock caused by the sad news of yesterday, the thought which

arises, and the question which all ask is, what effect will the removal of Mr. Lincoln have upon the foreign and domestic relations of the American nation ?

In attempting to solve this question, it must be recollected that Mr. Lincoln did not create the national policy. His policy was created, sustained, and enforced by public opinion. He may have modified and shaped it in some respects ; but he took no important step not urged by public opinion through its legal and recognised channels. Indeed, he constantly declared he was but the exponent of the wishes of the nation, being inclined to conservatism because the ruling power in America ; the " landed democracy," is conservative.

The death of Mr. Lincoln does not necessarily effect the removal of a single person in office ; nor is there any probability that any change will be made in the Cabinet, further than the appointment of a substitute for Mr. Seward, while he is unable to attend to the duties of office. The Congress is already chosen, and, having a much larger majority of the dominant party than the last, it is not likely to enforce, nor even to recommend, a different line of policy to that hitherto pursued.

With respect to the new President, he was nominated by the same convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln, chosen by the same party, and received about the same number of votes, which *should be* conclusive of his fitness for the office to which he was elected. He had been before the public, and those who nominated him, fifteen years, as a representative and senator to Congress ; and three years as military governor of Tennessee, appointed by Mr. Lincoln. Born in a slave State, he was not originally an abolitionist, but witnessing the evils of slavery, he adhered to the Union on the breaking out of the rebellion, and became an advocate of universal emancipation. The fault that has been found with him, and over which an outcry is raised, is that he was to some extent under the influence of drink at the time of his inauguration. This is to be lamented ; but it may here be noticed that those who are foremost in casting stones at him, are not teetotallers, but persons whose gauge of drinking

morality, is the quantity they can "stand under," without exposing their position. It is now however, understood, that Mr. Johnson's state on the day of inauguration arose from a medical prescription administered to recruit exhausted nature, but which proved too much for his temporary weak state. Mr. Johnson is *reported* to be a man of ability, thoroughly in favour of the total abolition of slavery, a staunch supporter of the Union; and it may be fully expected that he will fill the office to which he is called creditably to himself and the nation. His mode of accepting the Presidency has already created a favourable impression, and no doubt he will pursue the course marked out by Mr. Lincoln, except that, in consequence of the outrage now deplored, he may be less lenient to rebels who may be brought to trial and condemned, than Mr. Lincoln would have been.

It would be ungenerous and unjust, not to acknowledge the universal sympathy that is felt and expressed throughout this nation, with respect to the sad calamity which has overtaken the American nation and people. It is apparently as general and sincere as it would have been had a like calamity occurred to any of its people outside the Royal family. An effort, however, is making by those writers, who sided with the rebels, to create distrust in the future, by predicting great misfortunes to America, through the imputed infirmity and unfitness for office of the new President. Some suppose that Grant, or Sherman, must take command, and others that the people will insist on the President's resigning, and others that the Congress will turn him out; which suppositions are so purely nonsensical, it is unnecessary further to notice them. If these writers had a wholesome recollection of past errors, they would not forget how they abused and ridiculed Mr. Lincoln, without cause, and would avoid falling again into like error.

On the whole, therefore, it may be regarded as certain, that there will be no material change of policy. The surrender of Johnstone's army and of Mobile, will soon be heard of, and that will about end the war. The Emancipation

Proclamation will be adhered to; the rebel States will be reorganised rapidly; and twenty-seven States, the required number, possibly thirty-one, will ratify the amendment to the Constitution, for-ever prohibiting slavery throughout the land. A better system of direct taxation will be adopted; the Customs' duties will be revised, and placed upon a more liberal footing, and the national resources will be directed to the rapid extinction of the expenses of the war.

This attack upon Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward, so unmeaning and fruitless in every possible view that can be taken of it, may have been planned by a few individuals, only; but it is the legitimate fruit of the institution of slavery, familiarity with which so demoralises and brutalises the mind as to render it defiant of law and morality. This event should be a warning to all to separate from the accursed thing; to countenance neither it, nor its abettors; and not to rest until this long-standing and unspeakable disgrace is banished from off the face of the earth.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 27th, 1865.

NOTE.—It is hardly necessary to observe, how completely Mr. Johnson, in his career, forfeited the confidence of his friends and of the nation.



THE ASSASSINATION OF MR. LINCOLN.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WHEN great crimes are committed, the welfare of society requires they should be traced to their source, and that while the actual perpetrators are not allowed to escape,

the instigators should not go unpunished. Charity seeks to exonerate the leaders in the American rebellion from complicity in the murder of Mr. Lincoln, but charity is often unreasoning, and too much inclined to shield the guilty.

The following article from a New York paper, the *Iron Age*, of 20th ult., puts the foul act upon its proper footing; it being but the sequence of innumerable acts, in reality as heinous. The bombardment of Sumpter was a stab at the life, not of an individual only, but at that of thousands, and of the nation; a greater crime could hardly be committed; but it gave the death blow to slavery, which the murder of Mr. Lincoln buries in everlasting oblivion. Is not the finger of Providence clearly discernible in these events?

Mr. Lincoln had finished his mission. He was of too kindly a nature to deal with conquered rebels; and nought but his death would have ensured a full acknowledgment of his merits. A sterner nature was required to establish permanent peace and concord. The world is to be taught, and individuals everywhere are to be taught, that there is no greater crime against society, than wanton, causeless rebellion, especially for a wicked purpose. The originators of such a rebellion can hardly go unpunished; expatriation is the lightest sentence they should receive.

And here it may not be out of place to call attention to the *Punch* of this week. Has not the public been told continuously by me during the past four years, that the cartoons in *Punch*, illustrative of the acts of the President, taught falsehood, and not truth? and how fully does *Punch* confirm this in its lines on the subject this week, one of the most wonderful productions of the day. Will the *Times* turn these lines into prose, and apply them to itself? What a proper and truthful act it would be!

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 6th, 1865.

It will be noticed that the following remarks are in exact accordance with those in the last paragraph of my letter, of April 27th.

THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY.

From the New York IRON AGE, of April 20th.

“ WE do not say nor do we think that Davis and Breckinridge, Benjamin, Hunter, and Stephens, and the other prominent leaders of the rebellion, either procured or sanctioned the murder of the President. On the contrary, we doubt not its occurrence has caused them terror and confusion. But this is not because of any moral complexion to this guilt from which these men would shrink, but because they know how to calculate its dire effects upon themselves and their evil cause. But these men are none the less responsible for the fearful crime. It is the natural result of all their teachings, the fittest illustration of the barbarism of slavery of which they are the advocates, even in the moment of its death. The spirit that for years asserted a brutal terrorism in the South, debauching the morals and debasing the conscience of an entire people, so that the filthiest crimes were committed not only without remorse, but without effort at concealment; the spirit that nerved the arm of Brooks to strike down Sumner with an assassin's purpose, and then palliated or justified the act; the spirit that controlled the rebel conduct of the war from the very first, that sanctioned the massacre of Fort Pillow and ordered the slow tortures of Libby Prison; the same spirit of unscrupulous intolerance, of brutal violence, of fiendish hate, was manifested in Booth, the last champion and defender of slavery, when he murdered the beloved President of the United States. We seek not to lessen his responsibility;

his appalling crime we know stands without a parallel, but we trace it to its polluted source, and we find it *slavery*.

“Two men, with the prescience of prophets, had testified of the ‘irrepressible conflict’ between slavery and freedom, which was inevitable, and proclaimed that it must go on until America was ‘all slave or all free.’ It was fitting that in their own persons should be vindicated the truth of their philosophy, and that in them the conflict with slavery, of which they were able philosophers and guides, should find its culminating point. The assassin of the President did his work more skilfully than the assassin of the Secretary, but in the purpose of slavery and in the eye of Heaven, they both were murdered. Murdered too, in a manner becoming the character of their murderer; the one by the assassin’s bullet in the back, without forewarning, without possibility of defence; the other stabbed as he lay helpless on his bed of weakness.

“But let all the world rejoice in knowing that it was the last effort of the dying monster. Henceforth the man who dares to lift his voice in defence or palliation of slavery, will be regarded as an accomplice in this transcendent crime. The conscience and the judgment of the people alike demand, that slavery be at once and completely extirpated; and the nation’s heart feels by an unerring instinct, that the true murderer of Abraham Lincoln and Wm. H. Seward, is the slave power, of which the leaders of the rebellion are the exponents and the head.”

THE WAR IN AMERICA—THE SITUATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE surrender of Johnstone’s army, reported to-day, practically ends the American war. Some small bodies of

rebels yet in arms are scattered over the cotton States, and some considerable numbers yet remain in Western Louisiana, and Texas, it is said from 30,000 to 50,000, but these are demoralised, have no means of supply, can get no pay, have nothing to fight for, and no hope of gaining anything by holding out; and therefore, there is no probability of their giving much trouble. They will sue for the terms granted to Lee and Johnston, and if this be done immediately, the application will be granted.

In eleven days from the time Grant opened his spring campaign by advancing upon the "Southside railway," he captured two cities begirt with fortifications in every possible way, defended by 500 pieces of cannon, and by 65,000 of "the bravest troops in the world," commanded by a general somewhat "superior to Wellington," according to our pro-rebel journals, driving them from their strongholds, following such as were not killed or captured, with untiring perseverance, a distance of ninety miles, and finally compelling the surrender of the last man of this famed "army of Richmond." In the meantime, Sherman was preparing to move, and in sixteen days from leaving Goldsboro' to attack Johnston, he compelled the surrender of another army, the last hope of the rebels, computed at 60,000 men. Whatever else may be said, it can hardly be denied that history records few instances of results so important, being achieved in so short a period.

It may be confidently said, after these and other brilliant successes, that the war is ended, and it may be added, "*the great Republic*" is not "*broken up*;" Jefferson Davis has not "*made a nation*;" if the North was "*fighting for empire*" it has achieved it; if it was not "*fighting to free the slaves*," it has freed them. Now, let this be the extent of boasting, and henceforth, let the aim be to turn the successes into benefits to mankind.

As to threatened troubles from guerillas, little need be said; it can be of no national importance. Disbanded rebel soldiers may roam the country for a period, robbing and plundering, but it will be their own people who will suffer;

and these, whether of Union or latent rebel sentiments, will, in this case, speedily unite for mutual protection, and soon clear the country of the marauders. Moreover, as most of the soldiers have homes, to which they long to retire, and where they can do better by honest industry than by thieving, it may be expected that few will attempt to lead a guerilla life. The world has been surprised at the readiness with which America improvised great armies; it will be equally surprised at the quickness with which the whole people fall back into a state of profound peace. The first of July should not find a man in arms against the Government.

The result of this war is a glorious consummation, not only to America, but to the world; all should be glad; for no one can give a valid reason why it will not be a universal good; and presently none will rejoice more than the mass of the people in the rebel States.

Lifted from a state of social, moral, and intellectual degradation, they will soon become respected members of an intelligent and cultivated community. Labour with them will be honourable, and not simply the vocation of slaves; their lands will continually rise in value; the negroes, instead of being a cause of constant fear, will be an inexhaustible source of aid, comfort, and wealth; and through their paid labour, assisted by emigrants from the North and from Europe, the whole face of the Southern States will be changed within a moderate period.

Where the slave mart was held; where the slave auction block was reared; where no respect was paid to age, sex, nor family ties, if one drop of black blood flowed in the veins; where the poor whites were almost more debased than the blacks, skulking and "loafing" from one dram shop to another, too idle and proud to work, but not ashamed to beg; where the low-bred slave driver, by false practices and a villainous trade, had amassed wealth and assumed, as had been the case in thousands of instances, to be "one of the aristocracy," and to belong to the "chivalry," truly a fit member; there, in this land of black skins and broken hearts,

where all these wrongs and evils have existed, where the fences were broken down, the soil undrained and untilled, there, in these places, the schoolhouse will rise, churches will be planted, industry will rule, plenty and prosperity will abound, and the voice of joy and thanksgiving will rise daily from millions of grateful hearts. This is no fancy picture, but just as certain as seed is to spring up when sown in good ground.

Fears are expressed in some quarters, that "reconstruction," or bringing the rebel States back into the Union, will be a difficult task. To those whose wish is not father to this thought, it may be said: Have no fear on this account; some little consideration will, no doubt, be required; but when a plan is arranged and settled, every State will promptly wheel into line; and it is especially desirable that no time be lost. It is to be hoped that by December, when the new Congress assembles, the President will be able to congratulate the nation upon a complete restoration of peace and union, and the opening of trade with all the world.

Some persons are expecting that an export duty will be levied upon cotton, but there is no probability of it, as it cannot be done without an amendment of the Constitution. A home duty will be charged, but that will raise the price to the domestic manufacturer as much as to the foreign manufacturer, putting all upon the same footing; and care will be taken that this duty is not sufficient to discourage exportation, it being confidently believed by many, that within twenty years the growth of cotton will reach fifteen millions of bags annually, or three times more than has ever yet been produced.

Other persons entertain the very queer notion, that, prior to the rebellion, the Southern States had paid higher duties on imported articles than the North. It should hardly be necessary to say that this is erroneous. The act of levying duties belongs to the general Government, and all laws of the general Government apply equally everywhere and to every person throughout the Union. So far from the free States having enjoyed any especial privilege over the slave

States, the latter have possessed a most signal constitutional advantage over the former, inasmuch as that they have sent members to the general Congress for their slaves ! members for "goods and chattels," or what they held as mere dumb beasts. Think of an English nobleman sending members for his sheep and cattle ! A slave State with 200,000 whites and 500,000 slaves, would send as many members to Congress as a free State with 500,000 white legal voters ! And not only so, but these members would mainly be elected through the influence of a few aristocratic slaveowners. This has upheld the slave power, and enabled it to control the general Government up to the election of Mr. Lincoln. Against this great odds, and in spite of the enormous influence of the slave power in the North in distributing the loaves and fishes of Government, the anti-slave party has had to fight ; and nothing but the fullest confidence in the justice of the cause, and the most determined perseverance, would ever have enabled it to elect Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. Every one of these faithful men and women, for of honourable women there have been not a few, deserves a monument as truly as Clarkson or Wilberforce ; and although man may not build these monuments, they will be built where moth nor rust doth corrupt.

President Johnson has always supported free trade, and his influence will undoubtedly be thrown into that scale ; but the American Government will find it necessary to raise a large revenue to pay the expenses of the war, and consequently, import duties will necessarily be kept to the highest point that will not check importation, duty being levied for revenue, and not for protection. In any case, the Americans will buy as much as they can pay for, and this is all with respect to amount, that can be desired.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 10th, 1865.

THE LINCOLN MEETING.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—I BEG to forward to you a copy of a letter I have received from Mr. S. A. Goddard, in answer to the vote of thanks passed to him at the meeting held in the Odd Fellows' Hall, on Wednesday evening last, for the valuable letters that have appeared from time to time in the columns of the *Birmingham Daily Post*, signed by that gentleman. Being a question of great public interest, will you give it publicity in the columns of *Monday's Post*, if you can find room, and so afford an opportunity to those working men who attended the meeting, and to others who could not attend, but who share their opinions, that their thanks are heartily appreciated by the gentleman referred to.

I am yours truly,

GEORGE BILL, Hon. Sec.

Committee Room, White Swan, Navigation Street.

[COPY.]

“ Frederick Street, Edgbaston,

“ May 18th, 1865.

“ DEAR SIR,—I AM favoured with your note of this date, informing me of a vote of thanks that was passed at a meeting of the working men of Birmingham and its district, held at the Odd Fellows' Hall, for my letters on the American rebellion, which have appeared from time to time in the *Daily Post*, and for the information contained therein. This vote of thanks is especially gratifying to me. I regard the

working men as brethren of the brave and true men of America, who have been fighting the battle of freedom there, the battle of labour; for the right of every one, however humble in position, whatever may be the colour of his skin or the hardness of his hands, to enjoy the fruits of his own labours; who have been fighting against the attempt, by an unscrupulous slave oligarchy, to establish despotic rule, not only over the black labourer, but the white labourer, keeping one in perpetual bondage and the other in abject subjection. That the latter was the intention as well as the former is rendered unquestionable by indisputable evidence. At this moment, the world in its prospects, is two centuries in advance of the position it would have occupied had the slave power prevailed. The strength of the loyal people of America in the late contest, the wonderful power displayed both in a military and financial point of view, consists in the fact that the Government is every man's Government. None considered they were fighting for Mr. Lincoln, none have considered they were lending money to Mr. Lincoln, but all have regarded Mr. Lincoln simply as the chosen man to carry out the behests of the nation, and consequently of each individual comprising the nation. The working men of England, under like circumstances, would have acted in like manner. Wherever in America working men from England have gone, wherever they or their descendants have invaded the forest or the prairie, the school-house has been reared and the Christian meeting-house has been established. The State of Illinois, which was a wilderness when Birkbeck and Flower went there, only a few years ago, say 1818, now contains 12,000 free schools. This the working man has done. Mr. Lincoln was the type of what working men will accomplish under circumstances which it is their right to enjoy. Enfranchisement with them, does not lead to mobocracy, but to an enlightened conservatism, and this history confirms. The sympathy shown by the working classes, and by all classes, and by the Queen (who is as popular in America as in England), in the terrible bereavement to which the American people have been subject, will occasion a pro-

found impression there, and will long be remembered; but I do not expect to see the time when unscrupulous writers on either side of the ocean, who do not hesitate to assail their own statesmen and their own kinsmen, will cease to rail against those of other nations, whether they have cause or not. Little heed should be given to such writers, until it be found they represent the sentiments of at least a portion of the people. Thanking you for the kind manner in which you have communicated the resolution or vote of thanks,

I am, very truly, your obedient,

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

To Mr. George Bill.



JEFFERSON DAVIS AND THE *TIMES*.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—It must be admitted by impartial persons that the leading characteristic of the articles in the *Times*, on America, is insolence; but it is exhibited with such cool self-complacency, it comes so naturally, that it is often difficult to decide whether it is the offspring of intentional insult, or simply evidence of a mind oblivious to its own defect.

In a recent article, the *Times* says: "we look forward with much apprehension to the probable fate of Jefferson Davis. If slaughter can heal the wounds of the Republic, there has been enough already; but we fear the President is going to conciliate the extreme party of his supporters, at whatever expense of feeling or mercy."

It will be seen that the article assumes that the President's supporters, in return for their aid, require mercy to be sacri-

ficed, and that he will probably consent to the sacrifice in order to conciliate them. This assumption is altogether unwarranted. The *Times* has no ground whatever for fearing that the President's supporters, or any portion of them, require to be conciliated, nor that they are deficient in the attribute of mercy, nor that he would purchase support at the expense of principle. On the contrary, many of his supporters are calling upon him to grant universal amnesty; and he has indicated that he intends to do exactly what is right, to the best of his knowledge, without regard to party manifestations. The *Times* adopts this language, simply to delude its readers into the belief, which it has continuously endeavoured to impose upon them, and which events have so signally refuted, that the American President has no will of his own, but has to purchase support by succumbing to the mob, and consequently that the mob, or low people, rule supreme.

The article continues: "The inhabitants of these islands have little reason to sympathise with Jefferson Davis. He has been one of the most inveterate calumniators of this country; his policy has been to stir up the feelings of every class of his countrymen against us. For the person who could speculate on the miseries he would bring upon us, as his means of success, we have little respect, and if we plead for his life, it is not from any respect for his motives or sympathy with his character. *It is purely in the cause of the American Union* that we urge upon its statesmen, the impolicy of shedding the blood of a man *whom a little success would have transformed from a traitor into a monarch!* The stake has been played fairly, it has been lost entirely, and the victor should be content with success. *We pardoned Smith O'Brien; let America follow our example.*"

The *Times* has known all these facts with respect to Jefferson Davis, during the last four years, as well as it knows them now. It has known that whatever of arrogance or aggressiveness had been shown by the American Government in previous years, was entirely the offspring of the slave element in the composition of the Government, and

yet it did not cease to uphold Jefferson Davis, so long as he was backed by three hundred thousand bayonets, nor to malign the Union people, while struggling against a vast rebellion, accusing them of the same arrogance and aggressiveness, which the slave power had aforetime manifested with respect to England simply in angry words, while with respect to them, it had culminated in a foul rebellion. But Jefferson Davis, now shorn of the support of his bayonets, a poor solitary outcast, is a fit subject for the abuse of the *Times*; and the Union triumphant, a fit object to be taken into its anxious keeping! The *Times* certainly is consistent with itself, but it may be told, that the credit and honour of the Union, is not in its keeping, it being the last repository of honour and credit the Americans would use. It may also be told, that had they any confidence in its honesty, they would have none in its judgment in their affairs; for during the whole period of the rebellion, they have found its opinions and conclusions in regard to them, entirely opposed to facts; therefore, and for other equally good reasons, they decline its advice, and especially in matters affecting honour and credit.

But the *Times* would have mercy shown to Jefferson Davis, because "a little success would have made him a monarch;" and also, in that he has "played the game fairly." So, because he came near breaking up a Government, which he had sworn to sustain, he should be pardoned! Consequently, had Smith O'Brien succeeded in investing London with half a million of men, destroying three hundred thousand lives, and nearly occupying the throne of Queen Victoria, it should have ensured his pardon, the enormity of his guilt and the nearness of the accomplishment of its object, being a recommendation to mercy!

The other reason given is still less tenable than this, viz his "having played the game fairly." Was it playing the game fairly to starve to death deliberately, and through *malice prepense*, tens of thousands of Union soldiers; to put to death in cold blood hundreds of other Union soldiers, because their skins were black; to smuggle armed men into

merchant vessels, for the purpose of destroying the crews and seizing the ships ; to send men in disguise into peaceable villages, hundreds of miles beyond the scenes of strife, to rob and murder unarmed citizens ; to employ persons to steal into a city, far away from the seat of war, and in the darkness of night, to fire it, not merely to destroy property, but to place in jeopardy the lives of seven hundred thousand women and children ? Nay, was it fair to permit the war to go on, occasioning the sacrifice of fifty thousand lives, after his own generals had advised him there was no chance of success ? Were these things " fair ? " Let it not be said they are not true ; they can be proved on evidence, that would convict in any court in Great Britain ; and although he may not have personally ordered all these things to be done, yet he permitted them, when he could have prevented them. Therefore, if mercy is to be extended to Jefferson Davis only on the grounds that he came near being a monarch, and had " played the game fairly," there is no hope for him.

The *Times* continues : " It is quite possible for the Government to put its own construction on the constitution, now upheld by the sword, and treat Mr. Davis's crime as one entitled to mercy ; but we cannot help fearing that it is more in accordance with the disposition of the President, to treat an attempt to break up the Union, *as a rebellion against a lawful Sovereign*. We pardoned Smith O'Brien, while in his case there was no difficulty in ascertaining the law." Mark the intolerable insolence of this paragraph : The United States " can hardly be called a nation ; " its Government " can hardly be called a Government ; " therefore an attempt to overthrow it, " may not be called a rebellion." But " England is a nation ; " " it has a Government ; " " in this land, rebellion is, without question, treason ; and yet we pardoned O'Brien." If the ability to maintain two wars against the power of Great Britain, and successfully, so far as the stability of the Government was concerned ; if rapidly rising in power and importance, during a period of eighty years, until its mercantile marine exceeded that of

Great Britain, and it had become one of the first nations of the earth; if putting one million of armed men into the field, five hundred armed ships on the ocean, and raising three thousand millions of dollars from its own citizens, all in the space of less than four years, does not entitle a people to be called a nation, and its Government to be called a Government, and rebellion against it to be called treason, what is required to confer those distinctions? Will it be necessary to execute Jefferson Davis to prove that it is a Government, and that rebellion against it is treason? The doctrine of the *Times* would lead to that conclusion.

"Smith O'Brien was pardoned," but seeing he was such a little rebel, a poor paddy in a cabbage garden, the *Times* has yet to justify the pardon; for according to its logic, the greater the rebellion, the less the crime; and consequently, the less the rebellion, the greater the crime. The President, however, in spite of this argument, does intend to follow the example, and to pardon all the little rebels.

The *Times* says, "Had Washington been seized towards the end of the war, he would have been considered entitled to all the courtesies of a noble-minded adversary." This assertion is entirely opposed to evidence. There is nothing in the history of the times to warrant it. Had the rebellion failed, as it must have done to make a parallel case, and had Washington been captured, he would most undoubtedly have been executed. George the Third was determined upon retaining the American colonies. In order to accomplish that object, he was ready to submit to almost any sacrifice, yet he could never be induced to include Washington in his proclamations offering pardon to the rebels on their laying down their arms. Can it be supposed, were there any possibility of Washington being pardoned, that that inducement to stay the rebellion, and to retain the colonies in possession, would not have been proffered?

If the example of English history is to be followed, Jefferson Davis stands but a poor chance. Will the *Times* name one instance in which a great unsuccessful rebel has been pardoned? What mercy was extended even to the con-

temptible Cato Street conspirators? but then they were little rebels. If Jefferson Davis be spared, it will not be from following European example, but because "the Great Republic" is about setting an example to the world, and commencing a new dispensation; because, discarding the old leaven, which instigated vengeance, but still repudiating the sentiment that justice should be sacrificed to mercy, it will have the wisdom to be guided by what appears to be for the general good; to perceive that sparing Davis from the extreme penalty of the law, will do more for humanity, and for the prevention of rebellion hereafter, than a thousand executions would do. If executed, he will be, in the minds of many, a martyr; if spared, he will, in time, be forgotten. This is the argument that the *Times* should use, and not affect to doubt the President's mercy, nor that America is a nation, nor hold that he is entitled to pardon for playing the game fairly, nor because he came near success, nor that England has set an example.

Should it appear that Jefferson Davis is not in complicity with the Washington tragedy, he will probably be tried for high treason. The constitution provides that "treason shall consist in levying war against the United States, or in adhering to its enemies and giving them aid;" also, that "Congress shall have the power to declare the punishment of treason;" and further, that "all crimes, excepting in cases of impeachment, shall be tried by jury."

He will, therefore, be tried by jury, and it is said the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States will preside. He will have a perfectly fair trial, with the benefit of the best legal advice that can be procured; and, if found guilty, and the Congress has to determine the punishment, it is not probable that the President will interfere, one way or the other, unless, indeed, a very powerful minority in Congress shall be opposed to the decision.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

June 1st, 1865.

THE END OF THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—SURPRISE at the sudden manner in which the American rebellion has ceased, is very general. Most persons who favoured the rebels, professed to believe that they would never be put down. In opposition to known facts, they adopted the theory that the people of the slave States were writhing under aggression, and determined to become independent, and therefore, being a numerous people, numbering some thirteen millions, occupying an extensive country, intersected by rivers and mountains, possessing great resources, and being at the same time warlike and skilful in arms, they could not be subdued. Such was the delusion in this respect, that in "*polite*" circles, one holding a different opinion was regarded as an "*incapable*." The doctrine appeared plausible to these superficial observers, but it lacked in important respects the essential element of truth; and those who are now surprised, must bear to be told that this surprise is simply the consequence of their own want of impartiality, or want of judgment.

In vain it was urged that the rebellion was not a people's rebellion, but merely that of a slaveholding aristocracy; that the people were not oppressed; that they had no grievance; that they were already independent, more completely so than they would ever be under rebel rule; that however strong they might be, the Union side was stronger; that, if determined, the Unionists were equally so, and much more pertinacious; that if brave and skilful in military matters, the Northerners would soon be found to be more so, the constant occupation of their lives being an effort of advancement, and the overcoming of difficulties; consequently, that the military power of the South could resist only for a season; and unless political intrigue, by designing persons,

should weaken the North, the result was certain. It was further stated, that whenever the *prestige* of the rebel leaders should be seriously impaired, the rebellion would collapse, and opposition to the Government would disappear like the baseless fabric of a vision. The truth of these teachings, which were the result of a knowledge of the facts, has now been confirmed to the letter. The people had nothing to fight for, and as soon as the shallowness of the promises made to them, and of the prospects held out to them, became apparent, and the military power which held them in its grasp became broken, they everywhere gave in, so that by the 1st of July, as heretofore predicted, there would not be a man in arms against the Government, throughout the nation.

While the foregoing views were held and disseminated, it was admitted that the Union Government had no easy task to perform. The rebel leaders had been for thirty years preparing for the war, the people were completely under their domination, and having been studiously kept in ignorance, were ready to believe any promises made to them, however absurd, and to credit the wildest tales with respect to the intentions of the "Yankees." They were promised high pay, an easy conquest, and that every man should own a slave, and live like a gentleman. This thorough control of the people, enabled the leaders to establish a rule more despotic and intolerable than any other known to modern times. They wielded the whole resources of the rebel section over which they tyrannised; and having the blacks to cultivate the soil and do the work at home, the whole white population was made available to the public service.

On the other hand, the Government was entirely unprepared. It had hardly a man in arms; it was slow to believe that any set of men could attempt, without any cause, to destroy their own Government; and the war had continued more than a year before the Unionists were brought to realise that the rebels were really in earnest. Then the old Cromwellian spirit was aroused; they raised great armies, equipped a magnificent navy, brought their fighting generals

and admirals to the front, and carried dismay to the hearts of rebels and traitors wherever met. Lee, Stephens, and others, had long foreseen that the rebellion was a failure, and would have treated for terms, but fortunately, as it now appears, Jefferson Davis held out, so that when Lee was driven from Richmond, and his army routed, the rebel force in every quarter had to surrender at discretion, which surrendering occupied no more time than distances rendered unavoidable. The destruction of the rebellion was complete.

The ultimate fate of Jefferson Davis was foreseen soon after the war began. His unscrupulous aggressiveness would make him feared, but his despotism would cause him to be hated, and his conceit and arrogance would cause him to be despised. Since his fall, not a line has been written in the whole South in his favour; not a hand was held out to assist him to escape. Traversing a district where his rule had been held supreme, he was arrested by a few horsemen, and taken some hundred and fifty miles through the same district, without any attempt being made to release him. Not a lamentation for his fall has arisen from any quarter, and not a single petition for his pardon has come to the President, except from Unionists. Could anything be more conclusive of the disfavour in which he is held by his former "subjects."

Thus, in the space of four years, immense armies have been raised, armed, equipped, provisioned, paid and cared for in a manner at least equal to any under the oldest organisations; a powerful navy has been created; a gigantic rebellion has been put down; and the Government has borrowed of its own people three thousand millions of dollars, without the slightest taint occurring to its credit. During this period, and amidst great political excitement, the Presidential election has taken place, at which four millions of votes were deposited, without the slightest disturbance in any quarter; and, more than all, the nation has been moved to its centre, and the world shaken, by the murder of this President! the man who had piloted the nation through its

difficulties ; but yet his place was filled with as little ferment as is caused by a country justice taking his seat on the accustomed bench. The Government stocks rose, and the subscriptions to the loans doubled, evincing the determination of the people to allow nothing to divert them from their set purpose.

Never before had a nation passed through a more trying ordeal with such firm composure, and with so abiding a faith in the soundness and value of its institutions ; and this trial has results and lessons important to the world. It has given the death-blow to slavery, and has taught the "whites" that justice to the blacks is demanded by a power that will not be denied. Henceforth, there can be no discriminating legislation with respect to colour. It has shown that an intelligent people will rally around, and uphold, to the extent of their power, a government of their own choosing ; and inferentially it teaches that, that government is strongest which enlists in its creation and its interests, the voices of the greatest number of people ; and also, it should convince every people that there is no divine right of rebellion ; that rebellion is only warranted when justifiable in the eyes of mankind. In America, it prevents any further use being made of the vile doctrine of secession, which was never believed in by any one there, and only preached to induce rebellion ; and it should teach every one that the evils of **slavery** are so insidious and so poisonous in their action, that **the moral** perceptions become blunted to such an excess, that **society**, under their influence, will tolerate enormities, otherwise unknown to human nature. Another great fact is established by the war, and it is of some importance to the world at large, viz., that the "*great Republic*" is not "*broken up*."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

July 4th, 1865.

THE COLOURED POPULATION OF
AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE political position to be hereafter occupied by the black population of the United States, is the most important subject of consideration at the present time with American statesmen. The only true plan appears to be, to do away with all legislation with respect to colour. Invidious distinctions occasion antagonism, and in this case would certainly lead to a contest between races. The negroes must be educated and lifted up to a position, and not be trodden down on the arbitrary and impertinent assumption that they are inferior, and not entitled to take a standing along with the whites. Some time since, I addressed a letter on the subject to the Hon. Charles Sumner, Senator to the United States Congress from the State of Massachusetts, who understands the question better than almost any other man; and as I find this letter published in an American paper, I conclude it commended itself to his attention, and consequently, as the subject is of great interest, that you may be induced to insert in the *Daily Post*, the portion of it which relates to the coloured people. This portion is annexed.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

Extract of the Letter to the Hon. Charles Sumner.

“Edgbaston, July 26, 1865.

SIR,—“BEING most anxious for the adoption of right principles in America, at this critical period of its history; deeming it to be of ~~the~~ very highest importance to mankind

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at large, and especially so to the American people, I have been carefully pondering over this matter of negro suffrage. No doubt it is beset with some difficulties, but like most new courses, like many useful mechanical inventions, the difficulties which present themselves in first instances, will, assisted by such appliances from time to time as become manifestly necessary, finally disappear, and the system, if judiciously started, will work so smoothly and usefully, the wonder will be that any other ever claimed support.

“On examining into the subject, the Declaration of Independence first attracts attention. Did the authors and signers of this declaration intend to proclaim a truth, or did they make use of terms to lure the public mind, without any belief themselves in the doctrine promulgated; or, in short, did they intend to assert a truth or a lie? I imagine the dogma they put forth is either wholly true or wholly false. If they believed in it, of which there should be no reasonable doubt, and if the American people have upheld it, and boast of it in their communications with each other, and with the outer world, it is time it should be put into practice and acted upon, and that they should no longer, while proclaiming a truth, enact a falsehood. But if they do not believe in it, then it is time to haul down the declaration, and hoist one to the effect that all men are **not** born free and equal. I see no other way of getting out of the dilemma.

“During a period of eighty years, the North has ~~pleaded~~ that with respect to slavery, it was in subserviency to the South, but the plea can no longer prevail; a power that will not be resisted, has through the instrumentality of the brave sons of the free States, to each of whom I would raise a monument, struck the fetters from the slave, never again to be replaced. Any attempt, directly or indirectly, to replace them, would, it is to be supposed, occasion an outpouring of the vials of wrath, more fearful than anything yet witnessed; the North may now deal with subjects affecting the blacks, as it sees fit, and it may be considered to be the honest desire of the people at large, to uphold the sentiment

announced in the Declaration of Independence; indeed, that it expresses the vital principle of republicanism, and therefore, the question how to uphold it in practice as well as in doctrine, is now to be determined.

“ Authority for action in the premises must be sought, and the Constitution appears to be the document in which such authority should be found, and it is therein declared, “ the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government.” No definition of the term “republican” is given, but it has been held to mean a government created by the people, and holding office and power by the will of the people; it was no doubt so understood by the framers of the Constitution, and should be taken to mean now what it was understood to mean, on its promulgation; viz., a government created by the people at large, and not by any particular class of the people.

“ The rebellion having destroyed the Governments that existed in certain States, leaving those States, so far as their own action determines the question, in a condition of anarchy, the Commander-in-Chief of the military forces of the United States steps in, and establishes military rule. Now is the time, therefore, for the United States Government to perform its constitutional obligation, to relieve these States of this military rule, (which would, had it not arisen through circumstances, created and precipitated by the people of these rebel States themselves, be styled and held to be a military despotism,) by establishing republican forms of Government therein; and how this is to be done, and who is to do it, is the present question.

“ The Constitution says, ‘ the United States shall guarantee,’ &c. This can hardly mean the President, but should mean the Legislative Government. The expression is a clumsy one, for how can a form be guaranteed which does not exist? It, however, evidently means that in case of necessity, the United States shall cause a republican form of Government to be instituted, and then shall uphold it.

“ The President’s military power may be continued over the States until Congress organises the civil power, or au-

thorises him to organise it; but whether it is for him or Congress to take the initiatory steps, it is certain that republican forms of government are to be organised, and it is difficult to see how any form can be called republican that is not created by the universal people; all who are not tainted by crime. If Congress, or the President, has the power to exclude one class, the same power may be exercised in excluding another class; in fact, it may be declared that none but blacks shall vote. This, no doubt, would be deemed tyrannical by the whites, but why blacks should be rejected and whites accepted, does not appear. It is simply the prejudice of colour, which makes the rejection of the whites appear more objectionable than the rejection of the blacks. The President may think that the emancipated slaves would be too much under the influence of their late masters, and would vote as they might be told to vote. This may be so, and it may be a misfortune, but I do not see what right the President has, or the Congress has, to deprive any citizen of a national and constitutional right, simply because it is thought he may vote wrong! In any case, it appears to me, there will be neither sense nor justice, in allowing States to send representatives to Congress, with respect to the negroes, while refusing the suffrage to the negroes.

“ With respect to the loyal blacks voting wrong, I see less danger of it, than I do of white rebels voting wrong, although the latter may have taken the oath of allegiance. The fact is just this, in relation to the latter, and there is no use in affecting to overlook it; very little faith is to be placed in the honesty, or morality, of a people who would, without any cause, rebel against such a Government as they rebelled against, and who could behave in such an inhuman manner, as they did during the war. It may better suit those whites, who prefer their tastes to principle, to reject the blacks; but such have got to learn, that what God has cleansed, they must not deem unclean. I have such firm faith that Providence has taken this matter of slavery and dealing with the blacks in hand, and will work it out according to His own good will and pleasure,

in despite of all adverse human interference, that I feel very little concern about the final result. Still, it behoves all to be on the alert, and to see that legislation is directed with wisdom, so that the wrath of God may not be called into action, to perfect the work already so far advanced; and I have great confidence, that so long as we have faithful statesmen, like yourself, at their posts, justice will not materially suffer; and for your consolation, and to strengthen you in the good work, you should be informed that thousands, unknown to you, watch and applaud your movements with grateful hearts.

“How would it do to propose an amendment to the Constitution, to this effect, viz.: ‘Hereafter there shall be no legislation within the United States with regard to colour, and all laws making distinction with respect to colour, are hereby annulled?’ Would not this settle all questions relative to distinctions of colour for ever, and would not such an amendment be ratified by three-fourths of the States?

“I have the honour to remain,

“Very respectfully yours obediently,

“SAMUEL A. GODDARD.”



SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—MANY persons have failed to understand the precise views that the party which elected Mr. Lincoln in the year 1860 entertained with respect to slavery, and consequently fail to appreciate the position which the Government occupied on the breaking out of the rebellion. These views

and this position are so exactly set forth in a speech recently delivered by General Cox, on his nomination for the office of Governor of the State of Ohio, that the portion of it relating to the subject can hardly fail to be interesting to those who wish to learn the truth.

He says:—"The Republican party had opposed the extension of slavery, because it was a crime against human nature, degrading the poor white population of the South, breaking down virtue, and annihilating thrift and intelligence. We saw, in short, that slavery was irreconcilably antagonistic to all free institutions; that its tendency was towards barbarism; and that the republican Government our fathers have founded, could only be preserved by its overthrow. The irrepressible conflict became yearly more engrossing, and in spite of all our efforts to avoid it, we were obliged to make the issue, whether our country should be all slave territory, or all free territory. So long, however, as the slaveholders kept the peace, and refrained from violent opposition to the Government, we recognised their right, under the Constitution, to freedom from any interference on the part of the Federal Government in the concerns of the States themselves, or in their domestic institutions there. We recognised the fact that our power would reach the system only in the common territories belonging to the nation, and that by preventing the extension only, could ~~we~~ properly oppose it. We believed that in the end this girdling of the tree would destroy its life.

"The propagandists of slavery at the South, wedded to their system, and foreseeing its overthrow in the Union, at last determined upon rebellion against the Government, and the establishment of a Confederacy avowedly based upon the system itself. The result was war, war deliberately determined upon by the leaders in the secession movement, and urged forward in hot haste, lest by some agreement or some compromise the opportunity for that disruption of the Government, which they sought, should be lost to them; and whatever may have been true of the masses of the Southern people, we have abundant evidence that their leaders fully

measured the great crime which they were committing, and went into its commission with their eyes open to all the possible horrors and disasters which it was calculated to bring on the country. They doubtless had a lingering hope that the mere show of force would overawe the Government, and enable them to make their secession an accomplished fact, without great cost, either of life or of treasure, to themselves. But the contingencies which opened before them were not forgotten, and, in their hatred of free government, they determined on the struggle, cost what it might.

“The marked political results of the war are the complete extinction of the system of slavery, and the establishment of the paramount duty of allegiance to the national Government. We have overcome the concentration of the whole physical power of the rebel States, under a really despotic Government. Beginning with the assertion of State rights, the rebellion culminated in the most absolute and complete overthrow of State rights. Never, under a Russian Czar, or a Roman Emperor, was the power of the country more absolutely wielded by one man, than was the power of the Southern Confederacy by Jefferson Davis. The protests of the State Governors, and the opposition of the so-called Congress, were alike overridden by him ; and the doctrine of State Sovereignty had the most complete refutation in the submission of the rebels themselves, to this absolute centralisation of power and of administration, which they saw was indispensable to enable them to continue the contest.”

This statement is so clear, and so truthful, that one in accepting it, has a competent knowledge of the rise, progress, and result of the rebellion ; and, considering that the whole power of the South was concentrated in one man, that the whole white population was available to the armies and adapted to fighting, the slaves attending to all necessary agricultural pursuits ; that the Union Government throughout acted upon strictly constitutional principles ; that it had a strong slaveholding interest to contend with in its own borders, fostered and upheld by a rich political cabal ; seeing that the slaveholders had the sympathies, mainly, of the

Governments of Europe, and, to some extent, material assistance ; considering all these things, and many more that might be urged, it does appear at first sight wonderful, that the Union Government so completely succeeded.

On further reflection, however, it will be found that truth and justice were on one side, while falsehood and oppression were on the other ; and that while one side could conscientiously invoke the aid of Providence, the other, to human perceptions, placed itself outside the pale of Providence by holding that slavery was "an attribute of the Almighty."

All supporters of constitutional government should be proud of this result. Nothing could more completely establish the doctrine, that a constitutional government, a government which enlists the sympathies of its people, will maintain itself, and rise superior to all dangers that may assail it.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 4th, 1865.



JUDAH P. BENJAMIN AND THE UNION PRISONERS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—THE attempt of Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of the Treasury to the late American rebel abortion, in a letter published in the *Times*, to mislead and hoodwink the public, with respect to the treatment of Union prisoners in the hands of the rebels, can hardly fail to arouse indignation in the minds of all persons acquainted with the facts. This cool assurance is equalled only by that exhibited by him

and his compeers, when they declared that England would sacrifice any principle that stood in the way, in order to obtain cotton.

It is not proposed at the present time to criticise this letter in detail, because a small portion of it only has appeared in your paper, and because the published evidence, and that which is offering on the Wirz trial, in opposition to the statements contained in the letter, is so voluminous and conclusive, that no justice could be done to it within the necessary limit.

Mr. Benjamin adopts the jesuitical plan of endeavouring to draw attention from the substantive matter of complaint, and to fix it upon a dispute respecting the exchange of prisoners, a dispute altogether beside the question, unless it can be shown that a cessation of exchange warranted the murder of the unfortunate creatures who were the victims of such cessation ; and at the same time he would convey the impression that the deaths which occurred on transports between James River and Washington and Annapolis, formed the main ground of complaint, well knowing that these deaths were simply evidences of a minor phase of the cruelty complained of.

The American government charges upon the rebel authorities premeditated cruelty to Union prisoners. The truth of the charge is beyond all question ; amongst other witnesses, thirteen thousand "head boards" rear their grim forms over the graves of Union soldiers, at the single prison of Andersonville, South Carolina. These have been erected by Government, over those whose names could be identified, but thousands were tumbled into holes there, of whom no account will ever be had until the day of resurrection.

On the "Wirz" trial, Dr. John Bates, who was the rebel physician at this prison, deposed that in his opinion, 75 per cent. of those who died, might have been saved by proper treatment. Others affirm on this trial that from 30,000 to 35,000 men were placed in an open pen, exposed night and day to heat, cold, and rain, without shelter, except such as burrowed for themselves holes in the earth ; almost naked,

half fed, and this often with putrid food; prevented getting pure water, which was abundant, but compelled to use the foul water that partook of the drainings of the camp; lying about on the ground in the most filthy state, covered with gangrene and vermin; dying at the rate of one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred a day; three thousand died in one month; the dead being often allowed to remain amongst the living, without being removed, two and three days. And while these terrible sufferings were inflicted, it was shown that there was an abundance of wood, where-with the prisoners could have built for themselves huts, if allowed, and an abundance of food within the district, with everything requisite to an endurable existence, as was fully elicited in the movement of Sherman's army through the same region. Witnesses further testify, that prisoners were shot down on the most trifling occasions; that Wirz shot a one-legged man dead, simply for asking leave to drop a letter to his parents into the letter box; that if prisoners escaped they were hunted by bloodhounds, and if overtaken, often torn by them. One prisoner received a severe reprimand for defending himself against the bloodhounds; that many became idiotic through suffering, and in this state some of them were shot for trespassing upon rules of which they were unconscious; in fact, the details of these doings are so horrible, one sickens in the perusal of them and hangs the head for shame that any claiming the human form could be guilty of such ultra-barbarism. The only solution to its possibility is that men trained to the use of slavery become largely demonised.

While the Government charges these cruelties upon the rebel authorities, it claims to having treated rebel prisoners as humanely, and as carefully, as its own soldiers, or its own sick and wounded; every necessary provision being made; and women from the North, who had been reared in affluence, and in the possession of every luxury, were found in numerous instances, nursing the rebel sick and wounded, and with the same care and attention as bestowed by them upon the Union soldiers.

The story about Colonel Dalhgren, repeated by Mr. Benjamin, had falsehood on the face of it, and has been proved to be false. Mr. Benjamin knows that it is false. He says he never knew Jefferson Davis to be guilty of an inhuman act! Likely not, if his standard of humanity was that exhibited in the rebel prisons. Was it not an act of inhumanity in Jefferson Davis to have permitted these atrocities at the prisons? Can any one doubt that he could have prevented them? Was it not an act of inhumanity to set a price upon the head of General Butler? Was it not an act of inhumanity to send all black prisoners, whether freemen or escaped slaves, into slavery? Was it not an act of inhumanity to incite the rebel soldiers to give no quarter to white officers in command of black troops? Was it not an act of inhumanity to continue the war after all chances of success had disappeared, and after his own commander-in-chief, General Lee, had told him there was no chance of success, whereby thirty thousand lives were uselessly and wantonly sacrificed? When Mr. Benjamin has given satisfactory replies to these questions, some others may be put to him which he will find it more difficult to answer. In the meantime he may be told there is a free press in England, and people are consequently not so easily imposed upon as those he has had to deal with under the old slave régime; and instead of attempting to throw his mantle over Jefferson Davis, let him reserve it for his own use, for he will certainly require it, however ample its proportions may be.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 14th, 1865.

JAMAICA AND THE NEGROES.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—Too much praise can hardly be given to the article in the *Daily Post* of to-day, copied from the *Spectator*, on the subject of the Insurrection in Jamaica. It should enlist the earnest attention of every one having any voice or influence in the government of the island, or having any sympathy for the negro. The subject is especially interesting and important at the present time, while the welfare of four millions of freedmen and of their progeny for generations is receiving the anxious attention of the philanthropists and statesmen of America; the advanced portion of whom, and of the anti-slavery party at large, hold that the only way to ensure their well being, and also that of the whites with whom they reside, is to place them on political equality, legislating irrespective of colour; at the same time establishing a freedmen's bureau, whose duty it shall be to see that justice is meted out to all. On the other hand, the copperhead party, which has always prostituted itself to the slave power, and the unrepentant rebels, are for continuing these freedmen in a kind of serfdom, in which, while suffering every wrong that vindictiveness and despotism might choose to inflict, they would be deprived of the substantial aid which even slavery was forced to yield.

In the same paper, you have copied an article on the subject of this insurrection, from the *New York Daily News*, purporting to have been written in the Island of Jamaica, by one of its correspondents. Why this article should have been copied, unless the arguments used were deemed worthy of the consideration of readers, is difficult to understand; but it can be shown that everything written in that paper, on this subject, should be spurned with disgust by every honest mind. It has been a mendacious abuser of the anti-

slavery party, and a persistent upholder of slavery during its whole career, and while the rebellion lasted, gave its aid to the rebels so far as it dared. On the overthrow of the rebellion it engaged "John Mitchell" as principal editor, a man who had declared he wanted nothing better than a plantation of fat negroes; and who, in editing a rebel paper at Richmond, during the war, had been more violent in denouncing abolitionists, England, and everything appertaining to justice to the blacks, than any other man whatever. This appointment, in itself, sufficiently illustrates the character of the paper.

The article quoted commences thus: "the result of giving rein to the savageism of the negro is felt in our beautiful island." This was never written in Jamaica; it was written in the office of the *Daily News*, probably by the editor himself. "Beautiful island!" just as though the cold-blooded tool who penned this sentence could correctly appreciate beauty, or had any proper perception of anything beautiful. "The savageism of the negro." Reduce a race to a worse state than that of brutes; heap upon it abuse upon abuse; tread it into the dust; deny its soul, and ignore its body, and then talk of its "savageism!" Why, there is more savageism in this one sentence, taking into consideration the light in which it was written, than was ever exhibited by the negro. A poor oppressed race, which has shown more real Christian virtues under its manifold wrongs, than this dastard writer has hairs upon his head, accused of "savageism," because it is not more than mortal! A race whose wrongs cry to Heaven for redress, and will continue to do so until the Day of Judgment. It is unnecessary to quote more of the article.

It is painful to reflect on the sufferings which this lamentable outbreak will bring upon the blacks, to say nothing of the woe that will come to the white population. There cannot be a doubt that the infliction arises from an erroneous policy, and no time should be lost in correcting that policy. The insurrection, if there be one, must, of course, be put down. When that is done, let enquiry be made into the immediate

cause of it. What were the people doing in the house that was surrounded? What was it that then called out the vengeance of the blacks? Some clue to the facts may, perhaps, be had by means of an expression, said to have escaped a party attacking one of the unfortunate victims, "you shall write no more lies to the Queen." This was not the expression of a brute, nor of a savage, but indicated a refined sense of wrong. A thorough knowledge of the immediate and also latent causes of the outbreak will alone enable the Government to legislate in the right direction. Above all, measures must be taken that will ensure justice to the blacks; nothing less will guarantee to the islands, peace and safety. Let a freedmen's bureau be established to this end; let schoolmasters and preachers be sent out to teach the people the better way; then there need not be a doubt that by such means, and by observing kind treatment, and meting out equal justice, the labour of the black population may be rendered as productive and valuable as ever, nor that the islands may become more flourishing than heretofore. And while on this subject, let it be suggested that petitions go to the Queen from all quarters, that after the outbreak be put down, not one life of these poor wretches be taken. True humanity may suggest it, but consistency certainly will. If we can plead for the life of Jefferson Davis, who, without a grievance, without one shadow of excuse, in the full light and blaze of knowledge, deliberately, wantonly, and wickedly, became the instrument of causing the death of a million of his fellow-creatures, we may well plead for the poor "savage," who, in his ignorance, aims a blow at one whom he believes guilty of giving false evidence, of belying him to his Queen! perhaps to his mind the greatest crime that could be committed.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

November 13th, 1865.

THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—YOU have given an excellent article in the *Post* of to-day, on the subject of contention between the American Congress and the President; it could hardly be improved. There is one remark which conveys a wrong impression, but it is of little importance, viz., that “full representation of the blacks would give the South a preponderance of votes,” whereas, even in that case, the Southern members would reach only from one-third to two-fifths of the whole number of the members of Congress; acting, however, in a compact body on questions affecting the negroes, and in combination with the “Copperheads;” that is to say, with the pro-slavery, pro-rebel section of the North, they would, for a period, be able to outvote the advocates of justice to the negro. The expression, “for a period,” is used because although injustice might continue for a time, the advance of knowledge is so rapid, and it will be so manifestly to the advantage of the late slaveowners to make valuable labourers of the blacks, which can only be done through treating them well, that its long continuance need not be feared, unless, indeed, they are returned to a state of slavery, which, in the event of a combination of the parties alluded to, even now enters into the calculations of Southern politicians. The North shows its unselfishness in its advocacy of the suffrage and full representation for the negroes, which would give to the South forty-five members for its black population; while the South shows its selfishness in its demand of representation for the blacks, while denying them any voice in the election.

The news to-day, of the passing of the Civil Rights Bill over the President’s veto, is of the highest importance. The

Spectator of the 14th, in an excellent article, which every one should read, supposes that in the event of the bill being passed over the veto, the execution of its provisions would be obstructed by the President; but it is not known that there is any precedent for such action on his part, nor that he would venture upon it.

It is represented by many of the pro-slavery prints of this country, that the President, in wishing to admit the States recently in rebellion, without guarantees, is supported by the American people. Now, the Congress truly represents the people, and more than two-thirds in each branch is opposed to that course. Again, the Union press represents the Union sentiment which elected this two-thirds Congress, and full nineteen out of twenty of the Union papers throughout the nation, support the Congress; while all the late rebels, all the Northern pro-slavery, pro-rebel, copperheads, and all the former advocates of the pro-slavery rebellion in England, support the President: a heterogenous combination of malignants, that in political matters, should be avoided by every honest person.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 18th, 1866.



THE VETOED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—IN your comments on Monday, on the “Civil Rights Bill,” recently passed by the American Congress over the President’s veto, by a nearly three-fourths majority, you certainly mistake its scope and intention. Its object is simply to place all persons upon the same social footing in

the eye of the law, without regard to their colour. It does not confer political rights either directly or covertly; its strongest opponent has not discovered that objection to it. Another bill is before the Senate for granting the suffrage to the negro, brought in by a western man, who is said to have consulted with the President, and to understand his views. It proposes to grant the suffrage to those who have borne arms in defence of the Union, to those who can read the constitution, and to those who possess real estate of a certain value. The President has repeatedly expressed himself in favour of giving a limited suffrage to the negro, but whether this bill on passing the Congress will meet his approval, remains to be seen.

Judge Turnbull, an eminent lawyer from a western State, who introduced the "Civil Rights" bill, stated in Congress during the late debate, that being desirous to meet the views of the President, so far as possible, he had, before bringing in the bill, placed it before the President, and left it for several days, and that the President had made no objection, directly or indirectly, to any of its clauses. Indeed, his objections to the bill in the veto message, were weak in the extreme, and occasioned so marked a reaction against him, that the *Times'* correspondent in New York, writes, that "not a vote could be had for him in that city," the headquarters of his supporters, or something to the same effect.

You say "the welfare of the emancipated slaves is a mere stalking horse for the furtherance of the aims of the radicals." Nothing could be more unjust or ungenerous. The abolitionists might have avoided the war altogether by permitting the extension of slavery; and if maintaining the great fight of four years, and submitting to their immense sacrifices in defence of a principle, is not sufficient evidence of their possession of it, and of their honesty, then there is no evidence of honesty in this world.

You say further: "The President was anxious to relegate this important question of dealing with the negroes to the consideration of the several States, to be decided in each State as its own legislature should think fit; but this policy

was not sweeping enough for the Northern abolitionists and the radical republicans !” This sentence must have been written in your dreaming hours ; I can find no other excuse for it. It is not correct that the President wished to relegate the question of dealing with the negroes to each State. Such a wish would have damned him in the eyes of every honest man. He recommended the States, as a condition of their admission into the Union, to voluntarily amend their constitutions with respect to the negroes ; and it is precisely because they have not done so, that Congress refuses them admission and passes this “ Civil Rights ” bill. The President has undoubtedly shown signs of wavering and relaxing in his terms ; but even in his last message he professed to be in favour of giving full protection to the negro. And so, “ abolitionists,” who during the war, while it appeared to answer the purpose of pro-rebel sympathisers, were held to be “ no abolitionists,” but “ hypocritical shams,” are now to be denounced and held up to obloquy, because they are not willing to leave the negroes, whose emancipation they have been making such sacrifices to effect, to the tender mercies of their old masters, who have been put down by sheer force, in fighting to enslave them. Were they willing to do so ; were the Union people willing to leave the blacks who have been faithful to the Union, who have risked their lives in its defence, in the hands of rebels who have been fighting to break it up and to enslave them, no language could adequately describe the depth of their infamy.

The “ Civil Rights ” bill was eminently necessary. It is a great and glorious act of legislation ; and although only an act of justice, it gives more real lustre to American legislation, perhaps, than any other ever passed, really ranking higher than the declaration of independence. It relieves the whites from the poisonous effects and deep sin of upholding an odious and wicked tyranny ; and is an act of justice to an oppressed race that may cause angels to rejoice.

At present the State laws of the recent slave States subject the negro to almost any and every species of abuse and oppression. Under these laws he might be held as com-

pletely in slavery, except in name, as ever ; and little disposition is shown by these States to relax them. Under these laws, blacks may be flogged and imprisoned, or robbed and murdered, with impunity. Though twelve black men should see one of their number murdered by a white man, their evidence would go for nothing, no redress could be had. The "Civil Rights" bill simply does what the law of England does ; it places every man on the same footing in the eye of the law, with the exception of the chance of acquiring political power. With respect to its being unconstitutional, there is but little said, or to be said, on that head. The soundest lawyers think it constitutional ; the great majority in Congress, embracing men most competent to judge, are of the same opinion. The President, who is no lawyer, incidentally objected to one clause for that reason ; but even he, while at a loss for reasons, laid little stress upon it ; and it so happens that the clause was copied verbatim from the "Fugitive Slave Law," which the slaveowners forced upon the free States ; and consequently in no case have they a right to complain of the same means being used to protect the negro, that they adopted to oppress him.

Finally, much misapprehension prevails with respect to the exercise of the veto, and the act of over-riding it. Both are quite constitutional, and do not necessarily involve any antagonism between the different branches of Government. Submission to the result, in either case, is as much a matter of course, as submission to any vote of Parliament.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

April 24th, 1866.

THE GERMAN WAR.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—WILL you be so good as to enlighten your readers, or at least one, who is now in darkness with respect to this war which is to be? what it will be about; what great principle is at stake; in short, what the fighting is to be for? A dreamy recollection comes over the mind, that during the American troubles, when the “great republic,” which was not “broken up,” was, as its people supposed, fighting for the existence of its nationality, and to prevent the institution of slavery being permanently established; the *Times*, and those best public instructors which follow in its wake, together with that numerous class of persons who take their only political ideas from its columns, declared that the “fighting was for nothing,” that the battles were “brutal butcheries,” “without aim or object, the vengeful manifestations of an unprincipled democracy.” That “the monarchies of Europe, although by no means free from the sin of wars, always had in their fightings some object in view, some great principle at stake worthy of contention,” &c., &c. Moreover, it was held by these same luminaries, that “it would be best for the republic to be broken up, to be divided into several independencies;” that “different sections had different interests, and would be much happier under local government, each administering to the wants of its own locality.” Now, taking these teachings and this theory as a guide, it should be supposed that this continental quarrel involves some great principle, not “for empire,” nor for personal, nor “national ambition,” but perhaps even for the right to exist, on the one side or the other. Again, *the result* of the action of the barbarians who invaded Europe, parcelling it out into numerous states, not in their wisdom, but according to the ability of the several military chieftians to have and to hold; in contrast to that of the Christians from civilised Europe, who

resolved that so much of the continent of America as came under their sway, should form one homogeneous whole, in order to avoid wars and fightings and endless disputes; *whether for good or evil*, may perhaps be decided by the coming contest, and by the present position of the States of Europe; each section of these subdivided territories appearing ready to fight its neighbour, two millions of men being kept under arms, to invade, or prevent invasion, by their neighbours, and to preserve the peace! Verily, the theory of subdivision, and of fighting for principle, is very beautiful, and will bear much glorification, at least to sustain it; but perhaps the philosopher and philanthropist may pause, before giving to it unqualified assent. Be that, however, as it may, you will confer a favour on the community, by informing it of the causes and objects of the war, there being a vast deal of sympathy impatiently waiting to be bestowed upon one side or the other, "which ever you please."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May 5th, 1866.



MR. GOLDWIN SMITH ON AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—IT may seem ungracious to comment in an adverse spirit upon anything Mr. Goldwin Smith may write on America; but a communication from him in the *London Daily News* of the 18th, from which you have made some extracts, can hardly be passed without notice, the more especially as the opinions of the friends of America in this town, appear to some extent to be influenced by those of Mr. Smith, the denunciations of a friend obtaining credit, whilst those of an opponent would be disregarded.

The telegraph, and afterwards some newspaper correspondents, reported that the House of Representatives of the American Congress had repealed the Neutrality Laws out of spite to Great Britain, and that although the Senate had rejected the measure, it had, with the same ignoble feeling, and for the purpose of gaining the Fenian vote in the coming elections, granted to them the use of a public building in Washington, for a meeting to be held there; which statements are adopted by Mr. Smith without any seeming misgiving or compunction; and upon this information of the proceedings, he founds a sweeping impeachment of the Congress.

He says: "The House of Representatives voted to repeal the Neutrality Laws out of spite to Great Britain, and to secure the Fenian vote; and the Senate, although rejecting the vote, had the meanness to grant the use of a public building in Washington to the Fenians, with the design of obtaining their favour; thereby concurring with the other branch in a public incitement to a murderous conspiracy against the lives and homes of a community, with the Sovereign of which, the President was at the same moment interchanging the language of cordial friendship."

It would perhaps be difficult to pen a more offensive paragraph, or to build a theory so condemnatory of the Senate, upon a more flimsy foundation; and it cannot but be a matter of surprise that one so experienced as a writer, should have been so incautious as to charge the two branches of Congress with uniting in the incitement to a murderous conspiracy! Regarding this, however, as not intended to convey the meaning which might be attached to it, it will be sufficient to the present purpose, to review the acts referred to, in order to ascertain how far they possess the character attributed to them. And first with respect to the vote of the House of Representatives.

Unquestionably the American people were very much exasperated against Great Britain for permitting ships to be built and fitted in its ports to destroy their commerce; and especially at a time when they were struggling for national

existence with a gigantic rebellion ; and also for its refusing any compensation, or even to leave the question to arbitration. Therefore, the vote of the House, which was unanimous, unanimity being rare on any question, really and truly expressed the feelings of the universal people on the subject, and its significance must not be dwarfed into simply an exhibition of spite. The laws in question were not, however, the whole body of Neutrality Laws, as Mr. Smith would seem to suppose, and would cause his readers to believe, but supplemental laws, passed a few years since, to prevent belligerents doing precisely what the rebels and their associates did in British ports, during the rebellion ; the great body of the Neutrality Laws, as settled during the Presidency of Washington, being left untouched.

Secondly, with respect to the Senate's refusal to concur in the vote of the House. That, also, expressed the feelings of a great majority of the people, showing on the one hand, that while there was a cause for repealing the laws, yet on the other that they were not willing to recede from the advanced legislation which they had adopted, because another nation had, in their opinion, failed in its duty. This act of the Senate is worthy of all commendation, and should entitle it to a charitable consideration of its other acts ; but it seems to be lost on Mr. Smith, who immediately adds :—
“ But to obtain favour with the Fenians, it had the meanness to lend itself to the incitement of a murderous attack upon neighbours, by granting the use of a public building for a meeting which they proposed to hold.”

It is a matter of grave surprise, that one with Mr. Smith's sound logic, should confound an act that simply upholds the freedom of the subject, that permits what may be called a constitutional right, with one for the criminal motive of inciting to a murderous conspiracy. The Fenians had as good a right to the use of a public building in Washington, as the reformers of London had to Guildhall ; and to have refused them, would have been as impolitic as it was in this Government to refuse the reformers the use of Hyde Park. Without preventing a meeting, it would simply have given greater

importance to Fenianism. Besides, it would have been directly opposed to the antecedents and views of this Congress, which has interfered in favour of the negroes, insisting upon their right to meet when and how they pleased, so long as they kept within the law; and it could do no less with respect to the Irish citizens. It had determined that America shall, indeed, be a land of freedom; that all classes of its people, without distinction of race, sect, colour, or heritage, shall be placed upon an equal footing in regard to the law, enjoying the right to meet, to free speech, to a free press, free religion, and universal education; and to this end it passed acts during the past session that will entitle it to gratitude for all time to come. It is time enough to deal with meetings, when overt acts are committed; indeed the law permits no other course. The Government in stopping the invasion of Canada, in which the Congress fully concurred, showed that it would act when the case justified it. Was that an act of "spite" against Great Britain? Does it not shame the word?

The public writers who applauded the rebellion, and upheld the nefarious acts of the slaveholding rebels during the war, and who now revile the Congress because it insists on protecting the blacks and excluding for the present, unrepentant rebels from a voice in legislation; writers who call a three-fourths majority in both houses a "Radical faction;" may catch up sinister reports and build thereon false theories, for the purpose of sustaining class interests and class legislation, by bringing liberalism and representative government into contempt; but those who have marked the course of the great Union party, from the commencement of the rebellion down to the present time, without having had their confidence in its faithful adherence to principle disappointed, should not be led astray by any idle report, or be turned by every wind of doctrine. If any there be so weak in the faith, it may be fairly imputed to them that the seed had been sown on stony ground.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

August 25th, 1866.

MR. ADDERLEY ON AMERICA.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—It will be recollected that soon after the recent Reform Meeting in the Town Hall, Mr. Adderley addressed two letters to the papers, impugning Mr. Bright's statements with respect to the suffrage in the British Colonies, and with respect to the result of extended suffrage in the United States. In the second letter it was stated in effect, that Massachusetts, with limited suffrage, was the best governed State in the Union, while New York, with universal suffrage, was, perhaps, the worst governed.

Having for a lifetime been under the impression that the people of Massachusetts, about one hundred years ago, declared that with them there should be "no taxation without representation;" having indulged the belief that they waged an eight years' war in defence of the principle thus enunciated, coming out of it victorious; having known that universal suffrage, or what is called so, was established by the Constitution of the State, and had been exercised continuously, I could but demur to Mr. Adderley's assertion with respect to its being limited; but not knowing that a miracle in legislation had not been wrought, remarks that otherwise might have been made, were postponed, until an abstract of the latest law of the Massachusetts Legislature, regulating the suffrage, could be obtained. This has now been received, and is to the following effect, viz. :—

Qualification: "Every male citizen above twenty-one years of age, except paupers and persons under guardianship, who shall have resided in the State one year, and in the town or district in which the claim to vote is made, six calendar months next preceding the day of election, and who shall have paid a tax within two years, which tax, if the person holds no property, is a poll-tax, of two dollars.

Also, every citizen by law exempt from taxation if duly qualified as above. Provided, that no person shall have the right to vote, or to hold office in the State, who is not able to read the Constitution, in the English language, and to write his name; [this does not apply to anyone prevented by physical disability from complying with the requisition] and further, provided, that no person of foreign birth shall vote or hold office, unless he has resided in the United States two years subsequent to naturalisation."

Voters must be registered seasonably, thus; "Collectors of taxes return to city or town authorities twice a year, lists of those who have paid taxes; such authorities make lists of voters and post them in public places, seven days at least before an election; and these authorities must be in session at some convenient place for a reasonable time, within forty-eight hours preceding an election, to receive evidence of qualification of persons claiming to vote, not in the lists, and also for one hour preceding the time and at the place of election; and shall add to the list of voters the names of any shown to be qualified, and shall erase the names of any known to them to be not qualified."

Although compliance with these several conditions is necessary to the exercise of the suffrage, practically it is all but universal, the exceptions being mostly those newly-naturalised citizens who cannot read and write. Mr. Adderley's testimony may be accepted with respect to Massachusetts being well governed; but if he calls the franchise limited, he need have no further contention on the subject of reform, for a like limitation will be accepted by all reformers. Massachusetts owes its good government, its prosperity, the trustworthiness and loyalty of its people, very much to the universality of the suffrage. Its people are placed on equality in the race of life; and as "emulation seldom fails," energetic action of all is to a great extent ensured. To make men of men, nothing perhaps is more effective than encouraging them, and enabling them to hold up their heads.

Nor, is Mr. Adderley correct in the supposition that the State of New York is badly governed. That there have

been faults in its legislation need not be doubted, but no law nor executive stands long if found opposed to the common weal. A State, whose people have increased from three hundred thousand to four millions, within a life-time, enjoying a high state of prosperity during the whole period, can hardly have been badly governed. Universal suffrage has unquestionably been highly instrumental in effecting this result. True, it has been abused, especially in the city of New York, where poor, ignorant foreigners, landing by the hundreds of thousands, have too often been made the tools of trading politicians; who, devising means of their evading the registration and naturalisation laws, have used them for party purposes. The continuous exercise of the suffrage, however, soon teaches these naturalised citizens the worth of political privileges, and transforms them in a reasonable time from mere machines into valuable members of the community.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 9th, 1866.



THE COVENTRY WATCH TRADE AND GREENBACKS.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—MR. Peel, in his speech to the electors of Coventry, as reported in your paper a few days since, gave three reasons for the cessation of the Coventry watch trade to America. He said, first, “America cannot buy the Coventry watches because it has not got the money to pay for them;” second, “in return for watches, America could only give greenbacks, which, in the estimation of any commercial man

in this country, are about as valuable as a piece of blotting paper ;” and third, “ the duty on watches has been advanced from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent.”

It will be recollected that the complaint against the free States of America, heretofore, has been that they would not take our goods, not that they could not take them ; and it is well known that this has been an excuse with vast numbers who are influenced by their private interests, for sympathising with the rebellion in its attempt to consolidate and perpetuate an institution which they profess to abhor. Mr. Peel now absolves America from this charge, in declaring that it cannot pay for goods, and this reason would seem to be sufficient ; but doubting the entire correctness of his own assertion, he proceeds to give two other reasons, as above stated.

With reference to the first, it may be observed that the Custom House returns in the free States show that the imports during the last year, a year of the war, from England alone, excluding Scotland and Ireland, amounted to the sum of one hundred and thirty-six millions of dollars, and that in this period one hundred thousand watches were imported from Switzerland ; and to show that America could and did pay for these importations, it is only necessary to observe, that the exportations to England for the same period, from the same States, amounted to one hundred and six millions of dollars, *at cost*, at the places of shipment, to which must be added freight, charges, and profit ; while the shipments of gold to England during the same and the previous year, amounted to the sum of eighty millions of dollars ! Will Mr. Peel, in the face of these facts, adhere to the assertion that America could not take watches because it could not pay for them ?

With respect to the second reason, it is opposed to the first, inasmuch as it tacitly admits that America could give something for watches ; but it is introduced for the poor purpose of sneering at greenbacks, which Mr. Peel affirmed were considered by commercial men in this country “ about as valuable as blotting paper.” This exhibition of sagacity

had its desired effect, in eliciting from the worthy watch-makers "cheers and laughter;" but their merriment must have been of short duration, and their notions of value somewhat disturbed, for he called to their minds soon after, a fact of which they had already been painfully conscious, viz., that they "had sent their watches to lie in New York, month after month, unbought, the holders there, since 1860 to the present time, being unable to dispose of them." Now, as greenbacks are a legal tender in New York, and as no owner of goods there expects any better payment, the watches must be held in poor repute when they cannot be sold for an article "worth no more than blotting paper." Mr. Peel may be told that the total amount of the goods sent to America, the one hundred and thirty-six millions of dollars, has been substantially paid for in greenbacks. True, these have not been brought to England to be hoarded, nor are Bank of England notes taken to America to be hoarded; their sum, however, has been invested in grain, flour, bacon, cheese, gold, &c., and brought to this country; all good and useful articles. Really, before Mr. Peel again speaks on the subject, he had better copy a little *traditional* wisdom, and put the significant question "what's a greenback?"

With respect to the third reason, viz., the advance of duty from 8 (not 10) to 20 per cent., probably that measure has not affected the importation from Coventry to the extent of a single watch. Why should it? The law came into operation on the 1st of July, 1861, while, according to Mr. Peel, quantities of watches have been lying in hand in New York since 1860, the holders not being able to give them away for an article worth no more than blotting paper. Clearly, under these circumstances, the further non-importation can hardly be attributed to the increased duty.

Having thus shown, conclusively, that Mr. Peel's reasons for the stoppage of the Coventry trade in watches to America, are worth something *less* than blotting paper, it remains to be seen what are the real causes. In the first place, on the commencement of the war, people were inclined to economise and to avoid articles of luxury. This inclination has to

some extent continued, and has, no doubt, checked trade in the best class of Coventry watches; but the main cause is owing to the Americans having done in this trade, precisely what they did with respect to rifles, only more thoroughly, viz., they have introduced machinery, by means of which they produce a better article for the millions, than can be had from Coventry at the same price, while at the same time its style better suits the fancy of purchasers. One establishment turned out last year above twenty thousand watches, and this year it will turn out forty thousand. This home-made article comes in competition in the first place, with the Coventry make; but as the supply increases it will interfere with the importation from Switzerland, and turn the Swiss make upon the English and colonial markets. Eventually the only watches imported into America will be the celebrated English makes, and the cheapest, or the fanciful Swiss articles; unless, indeed, the American machinery should be adopted in England. This machinery was offered to England several years since, and had it been taken up, fifty thousand watches would have been sent from thence to America during the last year. Unless this machinery be introduced, not only will a considerable portion of the foreign trade be lost, but the home trade cannot be sustained against the inroads of the Swiss; for, with equal skill, equivalent capital, and labour at half price, they must finally triumph. In this state of things it is some consolation to hear experienced persons declare that the use of the machinery in question, would not curtail the demand for hand labour in the trade, but would in the course of time, greatly increase it through the vast increase in production. However great the present demand for watches may be, it will probably double during the time of the present rising generation, and the question is now to be solved, even within a year, whether Coventry is to have a fair portion of this trade, or whether its manufacture is to die out. Flippant talk about "greenbacks" will not settle the question.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 9th, 1866.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—THE object of the American Unionists, in the political contest between them on the one hand, and the President with the ex-rebels and copperheads, on the other, is so righteous, and its success so vitally important to the best interests of man, that it becomes a matter of deep regret that misapprehension of its merits should exist in any quarter. Entertaining this view, I crave the insertion in the *Daily Gazette* of some remarks in reply to an article that appeared in that paper of the 17th inst.

The article commences by saying, "The republicans, having the power of large majorities are resolved in carrying on a vigorous war against the policy of conciliation, and driving matters to a crisis." In reply, I beg to say the republicans are waging war with no one. They had the power to put down the rebellion, and, having accomplished that, are determined that the institution which occasioned the rebellion shall never again trouble the nation. They mean that slavery, the cause of the war, and the canker spot on the American escutcheon, shall be utterly extinguished, never again to trouble the nation, and call down upon it the just judgments of Heaven. They demand of the rebel States, before re-admission into the Union, acquiescence in an amendment of the constitution, placing all citizens on an equality in the eye of the law, without regard to colour; and that representatives to Congress shall be apportioned amongst the several States, according to the numbers of voters in each State. These amendments apply equally to all the States, making no distinction whatever either in favour or against any State, or class of States. On the other hand, the President, who has no right to legislative power, that being vested solely in the Congress, assuming legislative

power, seeks now, contrary to his former demands, to admit the rebel States without requiring any protection to the blacks, but leaving them to the tender mercies of their old masters ; a state of bondage worse than slavery in everything but in name, and in which the whole race would probably become nearly extinct in the course of time, in a similar way to that in which the North American Indians are passing away. At the same time, while giving these people, who have done their utmost to destroy the Union, complete power over the blacks who fought for the Union, the President would allow on the average, an equal representation in Congress to three rebels of the slave States, to that possessed by five persons of the free States. Here is the whole matter in a nutshell ; it cannot be varied for better or worse, by any mode of reasoning, however ingenious. Let the world judge between the two. Never, perhaps, since the world was created, has there been a viler rebellion for a viler purpose, nor any one, however meritorious, treated so leniently by the victors. The course pursued by them, will form an epoch, in evidence of a grand advance in civilisation. Since the close of the war up to the present time, not a rebel has been put to death, not one has been banished, not one has been deprived of his property ; and who can say that to leave the faithful blacks in the hands of their former taskmasters, to the mercy of their ruffian antagonists in the war, would not cover the American people with infamy ? Man might forget it, but God never could.

It goes on to say, "the President's prosecutors threaten to impeach him, but whether their rage will reach this point the future alone can determine. There are men, narrow, bigoted, infatuated, whose prejudices are only to be measured by their ignorance, whose fanaticism is a part of their hatred" This may be fine writing, but it is pure flummery. The President has no persecutors. The fight is made by himself, and it violates all the principles he professed when succeeding to office. The *elite* of the nation, the intelligence, the wealth, and the numbers, oppose his proceedings. Whether

he be impeached or not, depends upon himself. Should he continue to assume and exercise legislative power, he certainly will be impeached. There need be no mistake in this matter; the Unionists have suffered too much by this rebellion to allow themselves to be deprived of the fruits of their victory, viz., the extinction of slavery, and a constitutional guarantee of the equality of all in the eye of the law.

It continues: "We need not go far for an example of the vindictiveness of the Republicans. Their love of vengeance has not been satiated by the long imprisonment of Jefferson Davis, and they are playing with their helpless victim as a tiger might with a lion's whelp she has got within her teeth." Allow me, Mr. Editor, in sober earnestness to ask, whether the license allowed to journalism will permit writing after this fashion? Jefferson Davis is in the custody of the President, and has been so from the period of his arrest. Why he is not brought to trial is a mystery. The Senate, by a resolution, called upon the President to give his reasons for not bringing the prisoner to trial. The radical journals, at least some of them, are loud in their complaints of the course pursued. The President, in his proclamation offering a reward for the arrest of Jefferson Davis, charged him with complicity in the murder of Mr. Lincoln, and that charge has never been withdrawn. It still hangs over him, without an opportunity being given to him to disprove it. The President, through his Attorney-General, can move the law, or he can parole or discharge the prisoner; why he does not, is unknown to the public. It might be unfair to say that he pursues this course because he and Jefferson Davis were prominent opponents in the Congress before the rebellion, and because they have never forgiven each other.

It says: "Before the year 1861, the South, owing to the superior intelligence, education, gentlemanly bearing, and natural influence of the members it sent to Congress, invariably occupied the Treasury benches. The radicals fear to admit the South on anything like equal terms, lest they should wrest the power from them of which they are so

greedy." Equal terms! this is altogether a new idea. It has never yet occurred to the ex-rebels to charge upon the North a desire to impose unequal terms. It has already been shown that the terms held out apply equally everywhere. What the late rebel States claim in *their* "greediness for power" is, first, the right to "thrash their own niggers," and, second, the right to send two-fifths more members to Congress according to their numbers than are allowed to the free States. As to the rest of the quotation it is simply fustian; the state of literature, the amount of intelligence, refinement, and wealth of the free States, so far exceeds that of the slave States, as to admit of no comparison. The slaveholders held power before the rebellion through sending representatives to the Congress for their slaves; through acting as a unit on all matters touching upon slavery, and through so mixing up the slave question with other political questions as to obtain enough Northern votes to give them a majority. But here let it be asked, by way of parenthesis, how is it, if they "always ruled," that they made the English people believe that they rebelled because the North inflicted upon them oppressive tariffs?

It continues: "It is believed the President will have a majority of two-thirds in the Senate." This is a mistake. There will certainly be a majority of two-thirds, possibly of three-fourths against him.* In relation to impeachment, you say "it is another matter, when the person to be dealt with is a person of the people's own choice." This does not apply to Mr. Johnson. He is not President by the people's choice, but by the murder of Mr. Lincoln. His nomination to the Vice-Presidency was a fatal error. It was a compromise with slavery, made to secure the States of Tennessee and Kentucky, and like all the other compromises with slavery, has met its due reward. It is to be hoped that the nation will never be cursed with another; but this will not be, if Mr. Johnson has his way.

It adds, in effect, "the President's acts are not positively

* There was a majority of more than three-fourths.

unconstitutional, but only constructively so." There may be a difference of opinion on this point, but many sound lawyers in America have no doubt of the unconstitutionality of many of his acts; and, further, "the Constitution gives him absolute power while the Congress is not sitting, to fill up vacant posts." This is not the point in dispute: he claims the right to remove any and all persons, and this the constitution does not sanction. He is removing Union men by the hundreds, for no fault but their politics, replacing them with copperheads and ex-rebels! The nation has become intensely disgusted, and the President's attempt to form a party, by a combination of ex-rebels, copperheads, and war democrats, is a total failure. Finally, the article says: "It is far more likely, than that things should come to a dead lock, that the President and the new Congress may come to terms." Exactly so; but it will be through the President's yielding to the requirements of Congress. The rebel States will agree to the proposed amendments to the constitution, or they will not be represented in Congress during this generation. The "new Congress" does not come into office until the 4th of March, nor sit (unless especially called together) until December, 1867. Probably three-fourths of the members in both branches will be unionists, republicans, radicals, whichever it may please writers to call them; therefore, the President cannot look forward to that Congress for assistance. When he submits to Congress, as he assuredly will, and for the reason that he cannot avoid it, the rebel States will gladly accept the offered terms. They never expected any so favourable, until the President took them into his keeping. It may here be observed, that the Union people of the rebel States, are even more opposed to the President's policy, if possible, than those of the North; they see in its adoption, nothing less than banishment from their States.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 20th, 1866.

THE AMERICAN DEBT AND ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE United States debt has been reduced since the war by the sum of eight hundred and two millions of dollars; or, taking the dollar at 3s. 7d., which is midway between its gold value and the average of its paper value, one hundred and fifty-four millions of pounds sterling. The payments which make up this sum, have been partly on account of the ascertained debt, but mainly on account of obligations incurred during the war which had not been ascertained, but which, nevertheless, formed a portion of the national indebtedness. This latter portion of the payments the Secretary of the Treasury has included in his reports, from time to time, under the head of “current expenditure,” but which no more came under that head than payments on account of the funded or ascertained debt.

During this same period, taxes have been repealed which produced one hundred and sixty-seven millions of dollars annually.

The total amount of the “current expenditure” during the three years and a quarter since the war, has been, in round numbers, four hundred and eleven millions of dollars, or, at the above computation, about seventy-four millions of pounds sterling, equal to about twenty-three millions per annum. In this sum is included twelve millions of dollars paid to Russia and the Pacific Railroad Company.

Besides this, the sum of four hundred and thirty-eight millions of dollars, equivalent to ninety millions of pounds in gold, or twenty-eight millions per annum, has been paid in interest on the debt, which, added to the current expenses as above stated, amounts to fifty and one quarter millions sterling per annum, and not to ninety millions, as has been stated.

The expenses of the War Department, during the last year of the rebellion, amounted to above one thousand millions of dollars; while the estimate for the present year, ending on the 30th June next, is but forty millions.

The expenses of the Navy for the former period amounted to one hundred and three millions of dollars, while the estimate for the latter period is but seventeen millions of dollars; *reductions in these two branches, worthy of all imitation.*

The vast extension of the Army and Navy, and of the general machinery of Government, occasioned by the war, necessarily added greatly to the current expenditure of these three years of peace. So that the sum of twenty-three millions per annum, the expenditure of three years, is by no means a criterion of what it will be hereafter, disencumbered of war charges.

The fact that the debt has been reduced above eight hundred millions of dollars, while the sum of one hundred and sixty-seven millions of taxes has been repealed within three and one quarter years, after a great and exhausting war, is conclusive of the resources of the nation, and of its abundant ability to discharge its obligations.

Since the war, over nine hundred thousand foreigners have sought a permanent home in the United States, bringing with them, as is estimated, sixty-three millions of dollars in specie, and adding to the value of manual labour of the nation, nine hundred millions of dollars.

The foregoing figures are taken from official documents, and presented in a most able report by Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, U.S., compiler of the "Cotton Statistics" and other standard statistical tables.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

September 29th, 1868.

THE AMERICAN "FIVE-TWENTIES."

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY POST.

SIR,—THE correspondent of the *Times*, writing from America, says, "the new House of Representatives, to be elected this autumn, will undoubtedly contain a majority in favour of paying the five-twenties in greenbacks."

This is in exact keeping with the statements in the *Times*, with respect to American affairs, during the last seven years, and contains about as much truth, that is to say, none whatever. There is not the smallest prospect that so many even as one-third of the members to be elected to Congress, will directly or indirectly, sanction such a measure; should it ever be brought to a vote, very few will be found to support it.

Had the readers of the *Times*, during these seven years, taken my advice with respect to five-twenties and rebel-bonds, instead of that of the *Times*, they would have been worth, at this moment, nine millions of pounds sterling more than they are.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

October 13th, 1868.

END OF THE LETTERS.

TO MY SUBSCRIBERS.

I CANNOT take leave of these letters without thanking my subscribers, individually, for aiding me in thus placing them in their hands ; and while many of the subjects therein discussed have, to some extent, lost their significance, and while the events of the period are fast passing into history, I cannot but hope that the letters may still be found sufficiently interesting to repay a perusal.

It may be supposed, that on the suppression of the rebellion, others were written in an exultant and boastful tone. Not so ; the result of the great contest was too satisfying and of too overwhelming importance, to permit of the entertainment of any other feeling than that of profound gratitude.

It is hardly necessary to say, in conclusion, that the severe terms in which the Southern States and people are spoken of, apply to them, solely, in a state of rebellion ; nor, that in a state of loyalty and divested of slavery, they command as much respect and good-will, as any other of the States, or people.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February, 1870.

THE following Recantation, and Tribute to the memory
Abraham Lincoln, appeared in *Punch*, May, 1865 :—

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

FOULLY ASSASSINATED, APRIL 14TH, 1865

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
You, who with mocking pencil went to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face.

His gaunt, knarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please.

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step as if the way were plain :
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurril-jester, is there room for you ?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil and confute my pen,
To make me own this hind of princes peer.

How humble yet how hopeful he could be :

How in good fortune and in ill the same :
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand—
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command.

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting might—

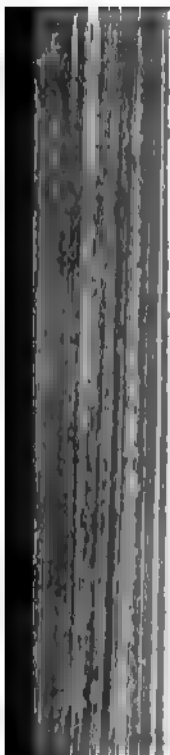
The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train ;
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it : four long-suffering years'
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood :
Till as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest,—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-labouring limbs were laid to rest !



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Sore heart, so stopp'd when it at last beat nigh,
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

A deed accurst ! Strokes have been struck befor
By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore ;
But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly o

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly strive
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life
With much to praise, little to be forgiven !

ADDENDA.

THE following articles on the Ballot, appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, at the dates attached to them respectively, and are introduced here because it is conceived that the wonderful strength and solidity exhibited by the American Government, in putting down the rebellion, was due to this mode of election, combined with universal suffrage.

THE BALLOT IN AMERICA.

THE nature of the complaint against the ballot in America is greatly misunderstood in this country. It is not pretended by any one there, that it is not desirable to vote secretly, nor that the ballot is not the best known mode of securing secrecy, nor that it does not in the main effect that object; but the complaint, so far as there be any complaint, simply is, that the ballot boxes have in some cases been violated, that perfect secrecy has not upon all occasions been ensured, and also that in some instances false returns have been made of the votes actually given in; grievances which, to whatever extent they may have existed, are in no respect attributable to the ballot. And after all, what does this complaint amount to, even in these respects, which in no wise call in question the desirability of secret voting, nor the ballot, as the best known mode of effecting it? why, merely to this; that in some of the large cities, where the Irish and German element holds the balance between parties, and at times when the passions have been aroused and excited to a high pitch, persons have voted who had no right

to vote, and others who had the right have been prevented; that in some instances the voting booths have been stormed and the ballot boxes broken, and that on some occasions, when party disputes have run high, false returns have been made; practices not appertaining to the mode of voting, but to the state of society where they have existed. In fact, the ballot is not complained of as not being the best known mode, and highly desirable, but simply as not being perfect. If an exact account could be taken of the instances throughout the United States, in which the vote of an elector has been ascertained through the process of voting, except by his own free will, or of the instances in which false returns have been made, they might possibly be found to amount to one in ten thousand; and were the whole number of the electors polled on the question of the ballot, there might possibly be found one in ten thousand opposed to it and in favour of *viva voce* voting, but probably not more.*

An American in discussing the question of the best mode of voting, would probably say; "The whole question is in a nutshell, and is simply this, viz.: Is it desirable that the electors should express their own opinions, or the opinions of others? if the former, adopt the ballot; but if the latter, would it not be better to take the franchise from these electors and give it to those for whom they thus act. If they are to be *dictated to*, whether by non-electors or by those in power, then the exercise of the franchise by them is a sham and a delusion." He would probably say further: "The right of franchise is inherent under constitutional government. In the exercise of this right, man is answerable to his own conscience only, and society has no more right to require of him to make known in what way he exercises the right, than it has to require of him to embrace specified re-

* Since writing the above, there have been instances of a heavy fraudulent vote being cast, in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, through the nefarious devices of unprincipled politicians acting upon the low foreign element, and the still lower native element; but it does not appear that this has been occasioned, or assisted, by the ballot, nor that it would not have been effected as readily under a system of *viva voce* voting.

ligious opinions, or to pray at the corners of streets." He would add: "By no possibility can any harm come of secret voting, because the worst that an elector can do, is to act in accordance with his judgment; for were he, in voting openly, to vote contrary to his judgment, the probability of the vote being wrong would be in the exact degree of the value of his judgment: if his judgment be worth nothing, then he should not vote in any case."

Were it to be stated to the American that the franchise is given in trust, to be exercised under the influence of the non-electors, he would reply: first, "The fact of there being any non-electors is incompatible with the genius of constitutional government; to refuse the franchise is to refuse a birthright; but if it has been deemed advisable to withhold the privilege of exercising this right from large numbers who from want of education, general knowledge, or position, are deemed incapable of using it for their country's good, and to bestow the right upon a select few only, then it is manifestly inconsistent to put cudgels into the hands of this ignorant portion in order to enable them to compel the more enlightened to act according to their views;" and he probably would add: "This contrivance of open voting and limited suffrage is merely a remnant of the feudal system, which required retainers to act as directed by their lords and masters, and which put into the hands of those lords and masters the means of compelling them to do so."

Were he told that the ballot encourages immorality, inasmuch as it enables an elector, after having taken a bribe, to go and vote contrary to agreement without fear of detection; he would ask the questioner, "In what school has your morality been learned?" adding, first, "Is it not more desirable that any one guilty of the great crime of bribing an elector to act falsely to his own conscience and to his country, should be defeated in his object than not?" Secondly, "would it not be a less sin in the elector to prove false to the briber than to his country; to take a bribe and do right, rather than to take it and do wrong?" and, thirdly, "how long would bribery continue if it in no wise secured

its object? If it be your wish to abolish the practice of bribery, then, according to your own showing, adopt the ballot."

Should it be further urged that it is for the good of society and the nation at large, that political opinions should be known, in order that the weight of the opinions of the wise and good should influence the opinions of the ignorant and the bad, he would say, "the polls, or the particular mode of voting, are not the channels through which men make known their political opinions." The political opinions of individuals in Birmingham, whether whigs, tories, or radicals, were, for the most part, as well known prior to the reform bill, which gave them members to Parliament, as since. Political opinions are made known or ooze out in a thousand ways, and the ballot is not upheld as a means of hiding or misrepresenting opinions, but as a mode of enabling electors to vote according to the dictates of their own consciences, with convenience to themselves, and without offence to their neighbours.

Should he be told that it is un-English to hide opinions, or to do good in secret, he would say, in respect to the first, "there is nothing un-English, *alias* unmanly, in not proclaiming opinions, which no one has a right to know, and the omission to publish such opinions is entirely consistent with manliness and ingenuousness, and with the soundest religious teachings;" and with respect to the second he would add, "the right of conscience, and the full free exercise of that right, is held as the birthright, and the highest privilege of Englishmen; a right which they are prepared to defend at all hazards; but if it be English to require brother Englishmen to proclaim their opinions at the corners of the streets, in order that they may not be suspected of duplicity and hypocrisy, the sooner this trait of Englishism is eradicated the better."

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

May, 1858.

THE BALLOT.

No. I.

IN attempting to ascertain the best mode of voting, the question naturally arises, what is the *object* of voting, and why is it practised? The reply is obvious, viz., to obtain the opinion and decision of the voter upon the question submitted. Thus, in the election of the members of the House of Commons, the wisdom of the people in the aggregate, is supposed to be elicited for the benefit of the nation. If this be not the object, if the conscientious opinion of the voter is not sought, then is voting a sham, and its practice a delusion.

This object, however, being conceded, it will hardly be denied that the voter is more likely to act in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience when voting privately, than when called upon to vote publicly. Some may say, "we would vote conscientiously though all the world were looking on, though we should offend all our patrons and all our friends." There may be some that would do so; but without stopping here to enquire why the State should call upon its citizens to be put to this trial, when it might as well be avoided, it may be replied that the assertion is in itself equivalent to a boast of uncommon independence, intimating that it is a rare virtue; or, to say the least, that *all would not do so*; and of this there cannot be a doubt, owing perhaps to a fault in human nature which very considerably prevails.

The doctrine held by some, that voting being the exercise of a trust for the good of the community, should be influenced by the unenfranchised, although plausible to some extent, will be found on close examination to be erroneous. In the first place, it is supposed that the franchise is bestowed upon those who are *capable* of exercising it properly, and

refused to others because they would be *incapable* of it properly. This is the theory by which legislators are to be governed. If it be not so, if this be not the rule, what is the rule? In the second place, one who votes secretly knows the opinions of the unenfranchised, and the community generally, as well as he who votes openly. His judgment is as much influenced by those opinions as would be, were he to vote openly. Now, suppose he considers those opinions to be erroneous, is it desirable that he should act in accordance with them, and contrary to his judgment? If so, he becomes a mere machine, to the bidding of others. But he who opposes the ballot on the ground that the voter ought to vote independently, cannot manifest that independence, cannot answer the question in the affirmative; he must say, No! the voter must act according to his judgment, "though all the world be against him." Then, if this influence be a nullity, further than a healthy action upon the judgment of the voter, no advantage is derived by the unenfranchised, or the community at large, in requiring the vote to be given publicly.

The argument brought against the ballot on the ground of difficulty of working it, so as to ensure secrecy, simply amounts to affirm that *secrecy is desirable*, the object to be attained. Those who oppose the ballot on the supposition that it would not ensure secrecy, cannot also oppose it on the ground that voting ought not to be secret. To show that secrecy is not ensured, the result in America is instanced, the opinions of voters, and the way they vote, being the same, said, as well known there, as where the voting is done by word of mouth. Suppose this to be so; if a voter prefers to proclaim how he votes, let him do so. Or, if his private opinions generally be so well known that his way of voting is a matter of notoriety, what does it tend to prove? It simply that the independence of the voter is established, and that the ballot box has effected its object.

"SAMUEL A. GODDARD

January, 1860.

THE BALLOT.

No. II.

IT being then demonstrated that the right to vote for members of Parliament is a trust to be exercised for the good of the community, and that while the mind of the voter should be duly influenced by the opinions of the community, he should in no wise be coerced, his duty being, after having taken proper means to come to a correct decision, to vote in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment; and it being also demonstrated that this result is more likely to be attained through the ballot than through public voting, inasmuch as that *some* voters may not have the independence, under the latter mode, to resist obstacles that may exist to free action, or inducements that may be offered to a contrary course, while under the former no reason can exist why they should not act independently; it is next to be considered what further objections exist to secret voting, and in what way the voter in practising it can prove faithless to the trust reposed in him.

Before, however, stating these objections, it may be remarked that it is not pretended that voting by ballot is not more simple, convenient, and economical, than voting by word of mouth; but, on the contrary, it is admitted to have great advantages in these respects, and therefore objections must be confined to its effect upon the action of the voter. One of the objections not already considered is that it is "unmanly to vote in secret;" another, that it promotes meanness and duplicity. In opposition to these objections it might be urged that society does not impose upon its members the obligation of publishing private opinions. Indeed the practice of it is often regarded as obtrusive, sometimes impertinent. Where voting is by ballot, it is considered bad taste in any one to proclaim how he has voted. In so

doing he does not even attain to the dignity of a braggart but is regarded as a silly fellow, one whose principles are not shown by his life and conversation, but who finds it necessary to hang out a sign to inform his neighbours what his opinions are. The almost universal practice of the best and most honourable men, of voting by ballot in questions coming before them, is sufficient to show that the practice is not regarded as unmanly, nor tending to duplicity. The custom of the House of Commons, and other legislative bodies, cannot be urged to the contrary, because these are representative bodies, the members of which are responsible to their constituents; while voters for these members, and in the other instances where the ballot is justified, are responsible only to their own consciences.

Another objection to secret voting is that the voter may be bribed to vote contrary to his own convictions, and without incurring the opprobrium of his neighbours and contemporaries; or that, having accepted the bribe, he would most likely break his engagement and thereby be guilty of a great immorality. This objection is very weak, and its affected regard for morality very disgusting. The voter who would accept a bribe in this case would most likely do so under any system of voting; but it would be a far lesser evil for him to break his engagement than to fulfil it because his obligation to the community to fulfil a duty legally and properly required of him, is greater than that to the briber to fulfil an engagement illegally and wickedly contracted; and, moreover, because its non-fulfilment would soon put a stop to bribery, and consequently, to the immorality foretold, and so hypocritically deplored.

SAMUEL A. GODDARD.

February, 1860.

THE BALLOT.

No. III.

NONE of the arguments that have been used in favour of open voting can be sustained, nor can those which have been used in favour of secret voting be refuted; the logical deductions from what is said on both sides being conclusive in favour of the latter. But as opinions, which have become fixed in the mind, do not always yield to reason, however cogent, it may be well to consider how the two modes have stood the test of *practical experience*, the result of which should be accepted by those who reject theoretical deductions.

On the one hand, then, open voting has been practised in England for centuries. It has all the advantage of respect awarded to ancient custom. It has had the support of the power and influence of the Government, of the lawmakers, of the wealthiest and most powerful aristocracy in the world, and to some extent of a subservient press; and yet, notwithstanding these formidable and almost impregnable aids, so powerful is truth, that the mode has grown into disfavour with the people at large, until there can hardly be a doubt, were a poll taken, three-fourths of the whole nation would be opposed to it. In fact its credit has declined simultaneously with the increase of general intelligence.

Now, on the other hand, secret voting has been practised in America during a period of three-quarters of a century, and it is notorious that throughout the whole Union there is hardly one single person who would wish to see the mode abolished and open voting substituted, with the exception, perhaps, of some members of the slave aristocracy, who seek to perpetuate slavery in opposition to the genius and wishes of the great body of the people.

Here then we have the verdict of two nations of English-

men, after a full and fair trial of both modes. That of England may be denied, the people not having been polled; but that of America is clear and unqualified. And, although the Americans, or the Englishmen on the other side of the water, may not be immaculate; although they may be neither wise nor virtuous; although pilgrims and the descendants of pilgrims, who in the face of tyrannic power would boldly declare their opinions, and establish for themselves a home in the new world for conscience' sake, may be accused of a want of independence, of fear to act openly, of a desire to act covertly, to disguise their opinions, and to deceive their neighbours; yet few will deny their capability to discern what is best for themselves, nor the probability of their adopting the course best suited to their own interests; and as every man there is a legislator in this matter, in his own right, it would be difficult to show why he should decide contrary to his own opinion, and consequently the sincerity of the American verdict may be relied upon.

Enquiries have been made by English politicians respecting the working of the ballot in America, and especially in the State of Massachusetts, where its action is supposed to be the most perfect; and elaborate replies have been given, which show that some difficulties have been experienced, not in enabling persons to conceal their mode of voting, but in compelling them to do so; all legislation on the subject of the ballot being directed to the latter purpose; a fact significant in itself. These difficulties, however, arise from circumstances that would not apply in the election of members of the British Parliament. The election of State officers and of county and town officers takes place at the same time, and consequently many names are voted for at once.

In the city of Boston more than 100 persons are voted for, and there being 30,000 voters in the city, the labour of preparing tickets or voting papers is very considerable. Individuals for the most part will not select names and prepare their tickets, but will vote the party ticket. They get this ticket from the party distributor of tickets; and this being

done openly, and the ticket being taken and deposited in the ballot box, it is known by *lookers on*, how the vote has been cast. This publicity, however, is voluntary on the part of the voter, for there are easy ways of avoiding it, if he desire to do so.

But the most important object of secret voting remains to be stated, and it is difficult to make it plain to the comprehensions of those who are practically unacquainted with the action of the ballot. It is this, viz., not to conceal opinions, not to enable a voter to deceive his neighbour, not to enable him to assume false colours, nor to shroud his actions in mystery, *but to establish his complete independence, to give him a title deed to vote in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience, which no one can dispute or call in question.* The voter, strong in his right, walks abroad, lord of his position, expressing in every movement and in every gesture, without asking favour or giving offence, his political views and political opinions. The ballot establishes this independence; it arms him against invasion; it is like a hundred thousand rifles held in reserve, preventing any attempt to subvert his independence, by showing the total impracticability of success.

To sum up, then, the various considerations. If it be desirable that the enfranchised should vote as they may be directed; or if it be desirable that men should be called upon to publish their opinions on matters solely between themselves and their own consciences; if it be desirable that they should make a boast of fearing no one, of doing their duty, of doing as they please, and being under no dictation (especially when the facts may belie the boast), in order to establish a character for courage and independence; in fact, if it may be suspected that they are deceitful, knavish, and cowardly, unless they proclaim that they are not so; and, above all, if it be desirable that an insignificant number of individuals, whether "one hundred and forty-three," more or less, should return to Parliament a majority of the people's House of Commons, then let the practice of *viva voce* voting be upheld and perpetuated.

But, on the contrary, if the franchise be a sacred trust to be exercised for the good of the community according to the conscientious convictions of the voter; if it be the object to establish the complete independence of the voter; if it be desirable that men should not be required to pray at the corners of streets in order to show that they are Christians, but that their principles should be known by their life and conversation; if it be desirable that legislation should keep pace with education; if it be desirable that England should continue in the course which is the boast of Englishmen, and which has more than all other things contributed to its greatness; of liberalising its laws and its institutions in accordance with the increasing intelligence of its people; in fine, if it be desirable to establish the constitution and the throne upon an impregnable basis, then, as a means to these things, adopt the ballot.

February 7th, 1860.

THE SUFFRAGE.

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY GAZETTE.

SIR,—YOUR correspondent, "A Faithful Conservative," says, "the American system is good on its own soil, because the population there are supplied by manhood power straight from intellectual Europe, fit for political suffrage on landing!"

Now, for the purpose of argument, it need not be denied that the contribution to American populations from the intellect of Europe, especially that overwhelming portion evolved from dear old Ireland, and Faderland, is composed of political beauties, trained to a complete knowledge of the responsibilities and duties of political life; but if so, it may

be asked, why are not these paragons fit for political suffrage in their own countries? Is it the sea voyage that instils into their minds political knowledge? and being proverbially, for the most part, from the lowest classes, how is it that their more favoured brethren whom they leave behind are not also "fit for political suffrage?"

There are in America, also, "faithful conservatives," persons who in the main are eminently selfish, caring much for themselves and little for others. These hold that the great defect in the American system of suffrage is in granting the right to the "lights from Europe" prematurely; whom, they say, never having had any political standing at home are not qualified for the exercise of political duties, but require a course of American training to fit them for the proper use of the suffrage; and this view of the case seems better to comport with the aim of the argument of your correspondent than the reason he gives. Many persons there however, indeed, an overwhelming majority, think with Mr. Bright, that the shortest and surest way to make loyal and useful citizens is to place them at once in the full possession of the rights of citizens.

December, 1865.

THE END.

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